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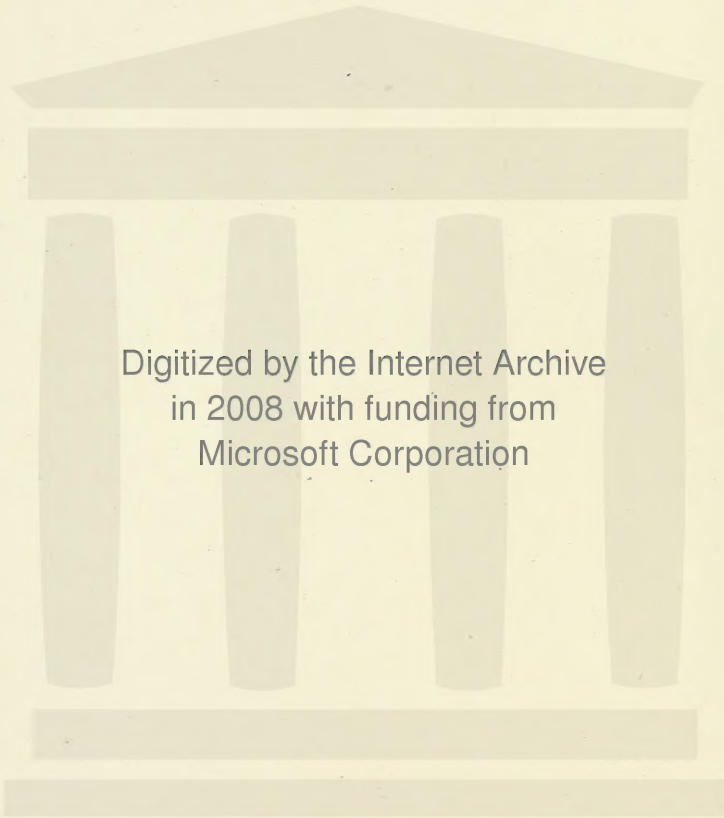
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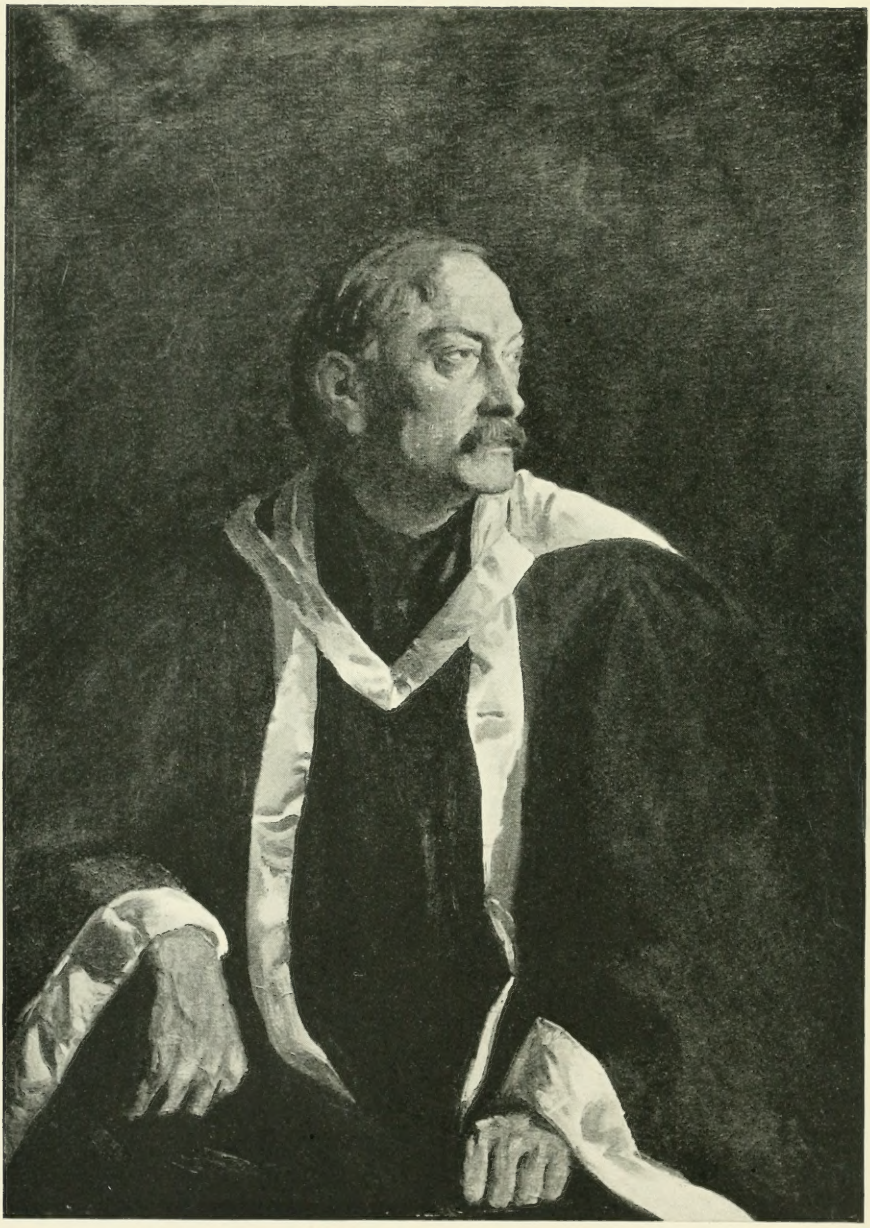

D. M. Mackay

A MISCELLANY

PRESENTED TO

JOHN MACDONALD MACKAY, LL.D.

JULY, 1914

LIVERPOOL
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON
CONSTABLE & COMPANY LTD.

1914

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EDITORIAL NOTE

This book was already prepared, in honour of Professor Mackay's completing his thirtieth year of service, and had begun to go to press, when his forthcoming retirement was announced. The news drew forth the second of the Addresses, a mark of regard from the students who have been recently in his classes. The rest of the volume has been left as it stood, except that some names have been added to the first Address. This is signed by donors to the publication fund, by the writers and painters who contribute, and by some few helpers more. The hundred and eighty and odd signatures appended to these two testimonies must be taken to speak for a much larger congregation, which is now hardly to be reached. The good wishes of all will be yet the keener for the sense that Professor Mackay is now bidding farewell to his labours as a teacher and to his long campaign in Liverpool.

In Liverpool nearly all of the writers have also laboured, in the academic vineyard. Each of them is answerable for what he, or she, has signed, and for that alone. The Editor has obtained Professor Mackay's permission to include the papers and addresses which appear in appendix form. The Editor owes manifold thanks to those who have co-operated in this tribute, and especially to Miss M. Eileen Lyster, who has kindly made the index, and to Miss Doris Millett, assistant-secretary to the University Press, who has been at the pains to verify the greater part of the proof corrections. The portrait by Mr. Augustus John has been reproduced with the approval of the artist and by leave of its owners, the University Club, Liverpool, an institution of which Professor Mackay was a founder. The other portrait is reproduced by the courtesy of E. Rawlins, Esq., of Kentmere, from a photograph taken by him. The collotypes of the drawings of Henry the Eighth's Navy are the work of the Clarendon Press, Oxford. The Editor wishes to acknowledge the skill and care with which a somewhat difficult task has been carried out, under the superintendence of Mr. W. G. Brandwood, by the printers, Messrs. C. Tinling & Co., Ltd.

O. E.

Liverpool,
June, 1914

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ADDRESSES

TO

JOHN MACDONALD MACKAY

M.A. (OXFORD), LL.D. (ST. ANDREWS)

RATHBONE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY

1884—1914

IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LIVERPOOL

AND IN THE

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

UPON THE

OCCASION OF HIS RETIREMENT

I

DEAR PROFESSOR MACKAY,

WE offer you this book, written by a number of your friends, as a mark of their regard and affection, and in honour of the thirty years you have spent in Liverpool in the service of education.

IN this cause you have contended all the while, without sparing yourself, and scornful of hindrances. Once you spoke mainly to a band of friends, whose comradeship is a happy memory to you. Some of them are now lost to us, after great service done; some are labouring elsewhere; others are still here with you, recruited by those who are sure to carry on the work and to fight under the same flag. You have now seen many reforms established, far sooner than would have been possible without your energy and insight.

WE do not number the changes in which you have borne so effectual a part. Enough that you have stood for the historic, independent, city University, and for the true fellowship and division of labour between the layman and the scholar; for the creation and autonomy of the Faculties; and for the building up of many a School and Department, such as those of Archaeology, of Palaeography, of Art, and of Local History; and lastly, or first of all, for the furtherance of learning and its ideals as the highest purpose of a University. It is your distinction often to have supplied the prophetic vision and the first impulse, and to have led the way while others doubted.

YOU did very much to break the trammels of the federal University, when it was clear that its work was over; and you strove for the freer constitution under which we live.

YOU have taught generations of students, and have breathed your own spirit into many of the best of them, who have afterwards won distinction, and who will never forget what they owe to you.

THE doctorate conferred on you by your old University of St. Andrews shows that your achievement was well known outside Liverpool. More than one of the new Universities has been counselled and quickened by you at a critical moment in its growth.

MUCH of the good you have done belongs to private history, is intangible in its nature, and admits of no record. The gifts that might have made your name in other fields, you have devoted largely to affairs and to the fulfilment of your dreams. All the more is it well for us to proffer you this slight token of recognition. We need

not despair of the higher education of the country, if men can still be found with such aims and qualities as yours to serve its future.

WE take, then, this opportunity to commemorate your labours and to wish you all happiness for the rest of your life.

WE BEG TO REMAIN, DEAR PROFESSOR MACKAY,

YOURS VERY SINCERELY,

ISABEL ABRAHAM
JOHN HILL ABRAM
STANLEY DAVENPORT ADSHEAD
CHARLES JOHN ALLEN
JOHN WEMYSS ANDERSON
EDWARD BALY
JAMES LUMSDEN BARKWAY
FRANCIS PIERREPONT BARNARD
FRANK BATE
JAMES REED BATE
JOHN JOHNSTON BELL
ROBERT ANNING BELL
CHARLES BONNIER
CHARLES BOOTH, Jun.
ROBERT CARR BOSANQUET
ANDREW CECIL BRADLEY
EVANGELINE BRAMLEY-MOORE
HENRY BRIGGS
ELLINOR LUCY BROADBENT
ALEXANDER THEODORE BROWN
EDGAR BROWNE
JOHN BRUNNER
WILLIAM JAMES BURGESS
FRANK STANTON CAREY
JAMES CAREY
ROBERT HOPE CASE
RICHARD CATON
FRANCIS JOSEPH COLE
MARTIN CONWAY
JOHN ARTHUR COOPER
GEORGE WILLIAM COOPLAND
MARGARET COXHEAD
ALFRED DALE
GILBERT AUSTIN DAVIES
JOHN GLYN DAVIES
JOSEPH SIDNEY SLEIGH DEAN
BEATRICE DODD
FREDERICK GEORGE DONNAN
HAROLD CHALONER DOWDALL
LETITIA ELTON
OLIVER ELTON
GEORGE HENRY EMMOTT
EDWARD EMRYS-ROBERTS
WILLIAM FARRER
JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY
WILLIAM CHARLES FLETCHER
RALPH FLENLEY
EMILIE FOWLER
VICTOR-HENRI FRIEDEL
JOHN GARSTANG
THOMAS ROBINSON GLYNN
PERCY CHARLES GREEN
LILIAN GREENFIELD
WILLIAM BARWELL HALHED
JOHN HANDYSIDE
HENRY HARTLEY
KARL HOLL
ELIZABETH HOLT
EMMA GEORGINA HOLT
GEORGE HOLT
EDWARD WILLIAM HOPE
WALTER HUDSON
GLADYS IMLACH
EDWARD JENKS
AUGUSTUS JOHN
WILLIAM JOHNSTON
WILLIAM GARMON JONES
EVA KNOX
JOHN LEA
CARL FRIEDRICH LEHMANN-HAUPT
CHARLES RICHARD LEWIS
WILLIAM McCULLAGH LEWIS
JOHN HENRY LUMBY
MARION EILEEN LYSTER
JOHN MACCUNN
JOHN SMYTH MACDONALD
ROBERT ANDREW SCOTT MACFIE
ELLA MACMILLAN
ALEXANDER MAIR
EDGAR WALFORD MARCHANT
RICHARD ROBERT MEADE-KING

SARAH MELHUISH
ANTONIE MEYER
KUNO MEYER
JOHN THOMAS MITCHELL
CHRISTINE MOAT
MABEL PAGET MOFFATT
JOHN MONTGOMERY
BENJAMIN MOORE
EDMUND KNOWLES MUSPRATT
JOHN LINTON MYRES
PERCY EDWARD NEWBERRY
ROBERT NEWSTEAD
JOHN MACINTYRE NICHOLLS
NANCYE PAKENHAM
BERNARD PARES
EDWARD HARPER PARKER
RUSHTON PARKER
FRANK THOMAS PAUL
SAMUEL WRIGHT PERROTT
ROBERT PETSCH
ROBERT PRIEBSCH
WALTER RALEIGH
JOHN RANKIN
GEORGE RATHBONE
HERBERT RATHBONE
CHARLES HERBERT REILLY
RONALD ROSS
FREDERICK JAMES ROUTLEDGE
EDYTH ROWLAND
JOHN SAMPSON
JOHN SEPHTON
CHARLES SCOTT SHERRINGTON
FREDERICK MOORE SIMPSON
DUNCAN JOHN SLOSS
HENRY GIBSON SMITH
GODFREY ALLAN SOLLY
EDWARD ADOLF SONNENSCHEIN
WILLIAM JOHN SPARROW
MORLEY STEVENSON
GILES LYTTON STRACHEY
HERBERT AUGUSTUS STRONG
LOUIS ADOLPHE TERRACHER
ALFRED PATTEN THOMAS
WILLIAM THELWALL THOMAS
THOMAS TICKLE
JESSE ALFRED TWEMLOW
DOROTHY MARGARET VAUGHAN
CHARLES WALKER
LUCY WALKER
JOHN WALLIS
WILLIAM HENRY WATKINSON
LIONEL ROBERT WILBERFORCE
EVA CONSTANCE WILLIAMS
SARAH BLAND WILLIAMS
HENRY CECIL WYLD
NORMAN WYLD
DORA ESTHER YATES
WILLIAM HENRY YOUNG

II

DEAR PROFESSOR MACKAY,

IT is with deep regret that we hear of your approaching retirement from the Chair of History which you have so honourably occupied for thirty years. During the last years of your professorship we were privileged to enjoy not only your tuition in History, but your guidance also in facing the wide problems of Philosophy and Life. From you we learnt the value and necessity of that honestly critical mind, which, by constant industry, attains to true scholarship and the only desirable learning. We experienced from you the greatest courtesy and kindness that a professor could extend to his pupils, and we beg to express our grateful appreciation of your services, and our hope that you will be granted health and happiness for long years to come.

WE REMAIN, DEAR PROFESSOR MACKAY,
YOURS SINCERELY,

ELSIE DORIS ARMOUR
PHYLLIS BECKETT
DOROTHEA ENID BRENNELL
SYDNEY JAMES BOYER
ROBERT CURWEN
DEBORAH DRAPER
HELEN WINIFRED DUNCAN
RICHARD PRESTON DYER
DOROTHY HOLROYD EDWARDS
EDITH HANNAH ELLISON
LILIAN GREY FORREST
JOSEPH GOLDSTEIN
KATE GREENFIELD
ALICE AMELIA GROSS
JOHN ALEXANDER GUNN
WILLIAM HANNAH
ARTHUR HARTLAND
MOHAMMED AHMED HASSUNA
MARY BOOTHE HAYHURST
MINNIE HENDERSON
ALICE GERTRUDE HICKSON
ALICE MURIEL HOLDEN
HERBERT GRAY HUGHES
GWILYM PEREDUR JONES
JOHN ERNEST JONES
OLIVE CECIL JOSEPH
THOMAS HENRY LEADBETTER
AILEEN MARGARET LIMRICK
GRACE LITTLEWOOD
JAMES MAINWARING
DOROTHY MELLOR
FRANCIS SYDNEY MILLIGAN
JOHN ERNEST NEALE
MOHAMMED NOFAL
MILLIE OLIVER
FRANCES MARY PHILLIPS
RICHARD PENNINGTON
MOHAMMED RIFAAT
WINIFRED AGNES RILEY
DEBORAH RIMMER
MARIAN RIMMER
FRANK WRIGHT ROBINSON
FRANK DANTON DE ROUFFIGNAC
OLIVE RUDKIN
FREDERICK THOMAS SAXON
MOHAMED ABD-EL-KHALIK SHALABY
SYBIL WESTWOOD
ELSIE BOYD WINDER

ACADEMIC

JOHN MACDONALD MACKAY
BUILDER

NOTHING in the world is more difficult than to describe a man. Even the police, who have had long practice in the art, and have every reason for perfecting it, do not achieve any impression of individuality in their elaborate published descriptions. They tell you what sort of coat and hat the man wore, and where he was last seen. It is enough for their purpose if he can be recognised and identified by a passer-by in the street. My task is less simple. I desire to honour my old friend and colleague, and I do not know how I can do it better than by trying to express, to myself and others, what it was in him that made him, during the ten years we were together, so compelling a presence and influence. His character does not lend itself to hard outline or intaglio. An accumulation of remembered details would be no better than a parody. To paint his portrait one would have to practise on mountains and vapours. Some men — notable and successful men — are like engines, all calculated adjustment and ordered symmetry. But Mackay is as vague as the atmosphere, as vague as life. He could never be subdued or confined to a mechanical purpose. He is like that pillar of cloud, with flame in the heart of it, which led the people out of bondage.

Looking back on the early days of University College, I see that everything, including the characters of the actors in that drama, was then in the making. Everyone is, in some sort, a final end to himself, so that young men do not very readily think of themselves as raw material to be shaped by the stress of life. They prefer to think of themselves as victors over circumstances. They strike a brave attitude, and mistake it for character, which, it is true, is best stamped on hard stuff, but can be stamped only by a harder external force. There is something pathetic in any array of the photographs of young men—presidents of debating societies, captains of athletic clubs, and what not. They gaze at you, from their memorial wall, with so much consciousness, and so little meaning; so much facial surface, and so little drawing upon it. Put them

together, to run a business, with their livelihood and credit depending on it, and the pencil will soon have work to do on the lines of their faces.

The staff of University College, when I first knew it, consisted largely of young men, chosen, with such warrant of ability as was obtainable, not so much to carry on University education in the North (for the thing was new), as to invent it. In any such staff the majority will always be individualists, content to be clever each in his own way, clinging to any freedom that the machine allows him, incurious about the mechanism, and willing to pay a reasonable respect to the duties put upon him by time-tables, registrars, principals, and the programmes of committees. Such an institution develops quite naturally and normally into a fairly efficient and useful High School, shaped, without any great reach of imagination, by men of method, and officered by a discontented staff, who do their duty in term, and live for the vacation.

The small group of men whose acquaintance I first made in Liverpool were much unlike this. I will mention only R. A. M. Stevenson, Kuno Meyer, and Mackay. There was no common creed uniting them, except that they cared for life and art, and for a University only so far as it could be made to reflect life and art. Stevenson was frightened by the University of which a strange accident had made him a Professor, —frightened as a woodland creature is frightened by a steam-plough. Civic life was to him a succession of heavy shocks. He was compelled to speak at a public banquet, and he made some remarks on the French School of painting. The Chairman (to whose mind the word French conveyed obscurely immoral associations) said that he hoped no more would ever be heard, in that place, of French art. Kuno Meyer, heavily overworked at the business of teaching elementary German, saved what time he could for his Celtic studies, and adopted a genially cynical and independent attitude to the culture-machine which enslaved him. It is not fanciful, I am sure, to find some of the inspiration of Mackay's later academic politics in his intimate friendship and converse with these two men. Stevenson wandered off to London, to breathe freer air; Kuno Meyer went on with his Celtic studies; Mackay gradually concentrated all his energies on the problem of building up a University which should be fit to employ men whose genius had been lost or misapplied in the old timid institutes and colleges.

Without him, there would have been no such attempt, or

it would have been delayed and partial. He was himself the political genius of the situation, the dawn of hope on the educational morass. It was strange to see how later comers—Gotch, or Boyce, for instance—recognised him at once, and made alliance with him. His politics helped them to get what they wanted in their own particular schools; but it was he, and he alone, who cared passionately for what is above and beyond all particular schools, the architecture of a great University. It may truly be said that for years he thought of nothing else. I have known only one other man who had anything like his fierce insistence of mind; and that other also left his impress on a whole community, in India. To be able to think for a week, night and day, on a single subject, to mature a great scheme slowly in the oven of a mind which is never allowed to cool—this is a rare and wonderful talent. It made Mackay a poor companion for hours of relaxation; I don't know how much time he has stolen from me, first and last, which I had dedicated to vacancy and friendship. He always found a spare trowel for me, compelled me to take off my coat, and put me to work on the walls of the new Athens. In vain I asked for less work and more play; if I ever interspersed a little quiet dance and song, to refresh my jaded mind, it was an unlicensed performance on those solemn battlements. He hardly knew the meaning of the word vacation, for his work was done in a brooding fashion, without hurry or strain, and his leisure was wholly preoccupied with his schemes. Dreaming and awake, he lived in the same world. There was something grim in the intensity with which he focussed all minds, his own and others, on the great idea, the University that was to be. He was the one spirit, whose plastic stress compelled the dull dense academic world to the form it wears. Most men, working in so heavy a material, would have been content with a modified success. They would have accepted an instalment, and would, in any case, have been glad to escape from the fatigues of the campaign into social distractions, and good fellowship with the enemy, and jokes. But Mackay, though he was often defeated, never faltered, and never yielded. His very jokes were warlike. Those who met him among the easy pleasures of society found themselves apologising for their pusillanimity to an inspired recruiting-sergeant. When they escaped from him, impressed by his large utterance, gripped by his mesmerism, a little ruffled, perhaps, and a little afraid, they had been touched by the dream, and talked of it as of a thing they had known.

I wonder how many of those who spoke of the University of Liverpool before it came into being remember how that idea first swam into their minds, or how it first lost for them the impudent aspect of a comic commercial counterpart to the ancient Universities. There was no origin but one for the serious, fully-imagined design.

If the chief strength of Mackay was strength of temperament and imagination, it was yet an inestimable advantage to him that he was a student of history. He recognised the meaning and value of institutions. He worked industriously and enormously at the records of the past, both immediate and remote. He acquainted himself completely with the modern movement which gave to France her newer provincial universities. I have often heard him refute theoretical objections to his proposed constitutional arrangements by citing a great wealth of analogy and illustration drawn from the history and practice of successful and honourable foundations. History was always real to him ; it meant not the barbarous phantasmagoria of mechanical progress which captures the imagination of Mr. H. G. Wells, but the world-old problem of the decorous life of man under severe conditions, the control of the primitive emotions, and the establishment of fellowship. It may be true, as his friend R. A. M. Stevenson used to say, that he hardly saw outward objects ; it would perhaps be truer to say that he had soon done with the eye as an instrument of apprehension ; he used the visible as a starting-point whence to project himself into other places and other times. His imagination was always historical rather than metaphysical. I remember discussing with him the grossness of some current superstitions, and remarking that philosophy was the cure for them. He dissented violently. I cannot pretend to quote his words, but in effect he said that philosophy never has vanquished popular follies, and never will vanquish them ; it is history that reduces things to a just perspective. I think he was right. Philosophy has made at least as many lunatics as it has cured.

Professors at a University commonly know very little about one another's teaching, but it was easy to know that this Professor's gifts to his pupils were conceived on a generous scale. His best and most promising Honours pupils were almost wholly deprived of my ministrations, for his hour, which came immediately before mine, was often an hour and three-quarters. It was easy, moreover, to guess that his teaching was not of the rigid or formal kind. There was little public

exposition, I think; his better pupils lived and worked with him for hours together. A mind is never at its best on the platform; the valuable things that come to it are all occasional, and the time spent in wooing the occasion is not time lost. He did not sprinkle his neophytes with historical information; when they were received into the School of History they had to undergo the ritual of immersion. Even those members of the public who attended his lectures, expecting, perhaps, to carry away with them the desiccated remains of a handbook, often found themselves in deep waters. I once heard a description of a passage in one of his lectures on early Roman history. He had been telling how Rome absorbed or destroyed the neighbouring civilisations, and he came to the Etruscans. His sentences were punctuated by long pauses for thought; he walked up and down the wooden dais; he gazed out of the window. 'What did the Etruscans think?' he said. 'You don't know what the Etruscans thought.' 'I don't know what the Etruscans thought.' 'Nobody knows what the Etruscans thought.' The audience made no entry in their note-books, and waited for something more tangible. Probably no single one of them understood that passion of thought. A mysterious ancient civilisation, with its own art and its own letters, completely obliterated under the rule of the masterful people who were to shape the destinies of the modern world; the lost opportunities; the desolated inheritance, an earlier Carthage. The Romans had found their mission, and had gathered in the first-fruits of their world-wide harvest. Nobody knows what the Etruscans thought.

The chief debt that the new Universities of England owe to Mackay can be named in a couple of words; it is the Faculty system.[1] He insisted on the organisation, and the internal government, of Universities by Faculties, each under the headship of an elected Dean. This system, though it is of ancient precedent, was not very well understood in England at the time when he first preached and taught it. At Oxford and Cambridge the system had been almost destroyed by the Colleges, spirited and wealthy corporations, which had steadily encroached, without much protest, on the functions of a languid and poverty-stricken University. At London candidates were examined and examiners were paid—a system so ridiculously simple that it has always been waste of time to discuss it. The newer type of teaching University was growing up in business

1. See Appendix III; 'Senate and Faculty.'—Ed.

centres, and the method of government was borrowed to some extent from the business world. Get a good man; make him responsible; and let him engage his staff. Against this prevailing system Mackay set his face like flint. He saw clearly enough that this is no question merely of rival patterns, each with its advantages and drawbacks; the soul of a University is involved in it. Choose the one system, and you choose freedom of thought, diversity of growth, and brotherhood among friends and comrades; choose the other, and you construct a machine which can easily be directed to a single end and subjected to a single will. But the ends and aims of a University are as complex as life, and no single will can ever be fit to control them. Moreover, the autocracy of the government will infallibly repeat itself throughout the whole organisation; the slave of to-day is the slave-driver of to-morrow. The business method is much in favour in the Universities of America, and though no doubt it is modified in practice, it has already produced pitiable results. I remember how an American Professor of Literature, visiting Liverpool, was entertained by some of the staff. He boasted that in his department he employed eleven persons, any one of whom, he assured us, he could turn off at a day's notice. Mackay's ebullition of rage must have surprised him. 'And you,' the prophet concluded, with a scorn that no pen can convey, 'you call yourselves a free people.'

The work to which Mackay has now for thirty years devoted his life is not work which bulks very large in the popular view. A builder of institutions must needs work underground for a long and tedious spell; even when he sees his work rise into the air, those for whom he built take the conspicuous places, and the architect is often forgotten. Indeed it might almost be stated as a law of nature, that no man is allowed both to build and to inhabit. One man begins a war; another ends it. One man produces a great work of art; another sells it. In the days when I was with him I think Mackay knew that the price of getting his work done was to let the credit go to others. I remember seeing him sit, well content, in the front row of the audience at the opening of some new buildings, while the head of the University and the head of the City bandied compliments to and fro, each protesting that it was the other who first conceived the idea of a Civic University. Both were as innocent as young lambs. But some men knew; and now that there is a pause in the activities of a strenuous

life, and the health of the newer Universities is strong and secure, it is not amiss that those who know should speak. The founders of the Birmingham University know whose advice helped to shape their constitution and to direct their aims.[1] The founders of the Sheffield University will gladly acknowledge their debt.[2] Even Oxford has felt that all pervading influence through her ancient veins. The renascence there of the University idea, which is every day growing stronger, has been quickened, by ways that can be traced, from the same source. If any one man were to be chosen to give his name to the new University movement, as Cecil Rhodes gave his name to Rhodesia, there would be no question, among those who have watched the movement and know its intimate history, whose that name should be. Dissent there might be : there would be no other competitor. But this is an idle fantasy, for the very spirit of the movement denies all proprietary rights in the public weal.

It is natural enough that the character and work of this great thinker and builder should appeal only to the few. He has done all his work among a few associates, not one of whom would refuse the name of disciple. He has no gift of popularity. He is a democrat and a patrician, after the Roman model. More than that, he belongs, by blood and temper, to a fighting clan, and never refuses a challenge. All his assaults on fortified privilege and entrenched custom are frontal attacks ; and they often fail. I have reproached him, as he will remember, with leading his devoted little band up steep cliffs, under heavy fire, to certain repulse. But his genius does not take kindly to the more circuitous route, and he is always willing to fight again. He scorns defensive tactics, and freely exposes himself to all the sharpshooters of a country-side. Those who are opposed to him (and they are many) find a wide enough mark to aim at. He is deficient in not a few of the minor virtues. Punctuality, I suppose, may be called a minor virtue, though it must be admitted that the general and continued observance of it is what makes the world go round. Was it not Milton, the poet of happy epithets, who called the earth ' this punctual spot ' ? It is no very exact description of Mackay's dwelling-place. When I first stayed with him (he had dug me out of a lodging in Manchester) we went for a walk in the afternoon. His man, a soldier of the reserve, asked him at what time we should be back for dinner. He turned a kindly eye on the

1. See pp. 77-9 *post*.—Ed.
2. See pp. 29-31 *post*.—Ed.

questioner, and replied, ' About six, or eight.' It was a mistake in him to meddle with these arithmetical matters. Time is not for him. He allows things to run their natural course, and if he is often late for an engagement, at least he never pleads these minutenesses and exactitudes as a reason for breaking off a business that is doing well, or a talk that has fastened on the heart of its theme. It is easy to see how broad a target this sort of conduct of life exposes to the disaffected. A careful attention to time is not only a virtue ; it is a necessary virtue. A respectable career can be made out of this material. And those who are strong in the necessary virtues are often the most intolerant of mankind. They have denied themselves, and are little inclined to pay the tribute of respect to a character of bolder and wilder outlines. They see the distinction of such a character, for they are not blind ; and they resent it. The littleness in them—the useful, comfortable littleness—is outraged. When I have felt any shadow of annoyance (as I think I sometimes have) at my friend's impressionist treatment of the clock, I have known that it was my littleness that was injured.

It is many years since I last had the chance of noticing these things, so that my memories wear an odd kind of obituary air. There is no harm in that ; distance helps the view of a figure so massive and so lonely. Those who are too near often see nothing but the pedestal, and find it an obstruction. I see the statue, standing in primeval dignity, brooding over the City and the University, a creator and a guardian.

WALTER RALEIGH

Oxford

ARCHITECTURE AS AN ACADEMIC SUBJECT

I

That architecture is a full subject in the academic curriculum of the University of Liverpool, with a chair devoted to it, is largely due to Professor Mackay.[1] If in this case his complete dream had been realised, architecture, instead of being an isolated chair, would by now have had its place in a Faculty of the Fine Arts, and Liverpool might have boasted an *Ecole des Beaux Arts* comparable to the great Paris School. But ideals such as Professor Mackay's, even if they do not immediately bring forth fruit, are hardy plants capable of surviving many frosts of official disfavour. If neither the University nor the town of Liverpool can for the present trust themselves to provide that complete air of freedom under which alone the allied arts can flourish, signs are not wanting that private munificence in another sphere may bring about the very conditions which from the first Professor Mackay saw were necessary to success.

For a short space of time, some fifteen to twenty years ago, it seemed as if the dream that an English University should see in the fine arts activities worthy to be ranked with its other studies, and should further have the courage so to alter its rules and regulations that these activities might survive the academic embrace and yet remain living things, would come true. At the founding of the College which preceded the University, a sum had been set apart from the general subscriptions of the citizens for the founding of a Chair of Art. That from the very beginning the University of Liverpool possessed this unique distinction, was in a large measure due to the liberal and civilising influence of the Rathbone family. The chair so founded was named after William Roscoe, patron and lover of the fine arts, and was occupied in turn by two distinguished critics. It was on the retirement of the second of these that the scheme, which Professor Mackay inspired, had its first chance to materialise. The University was persuaded to take the bold, and at that time unprecedented step, of giving

1. See Appendix II, 'The Teaching of Architecture in the New University.'—Ed.

its Chair of Fine Art to an actual practitioner in one of the arts, instead of to a harmless critic. Architecture was the art so honoured, and the town in its turn was persuaded to supplement the practical teaching in architecture that could now be given, with teaching in the applied arts and crafts, which at that time were considered to group themselves round it in the relation of children and parent. We can see now, in the light of history and experience, that the so-called 'applied' arts and crafts could not grow out of architecture alone, and that if for 'applied arts' had been substituted the 'allied arts' of painting and sculpture, a fairer and more stable structure would have arisen. The mistake, however, was a natural one at the time when it was made. It was the epoch of the arts and crafts movement, of which this School was the Liverpool manifestation. The mistake, too, was realised almost at once, and in practice was quickly remedied. Constitutionally, however, the hiatus remained as it was. Drawing and painting could not be introduced as ends in themselves, but it was realised that drawing was essential to any real advance even in the most subsidiary art or craft. Teachers of drawing were added to the School, among them the greatest living master of this art—Augustus John. Its honourable connection with this master will always remain a very real distinction to the University of Liverpool, whether in the future it possesses a chair of painting or not. The very eminence, however, of Mr. John, and the power he showed even in those days, aided in the School's undoing. The constitution, which provided only for the applied arts, could not hide the fact that his work and his teaching in pure drawing were more important than the total output of stained glass and hammered metal work. 'Overlapping,' which is the official term for good work when it occurs in more than one place, was at once talked about. The University School was said to overlap the town School, as indeed it did, and should. Enmities grew up, and the final result was not unlike the case of the Society of British Artists, when, under Whistler's guidance and according to his dictum, the artists fled and the British remained. Officially, painting and sculpture exist to-day in the town school, fed and fettered by Government grants; in reality, it is with the little group of artists recruited from the old University School, and calling themselves the Sandon Studios Society, that Liverpool's pretensions to a place in the history of modern painting will rest.

II

For the present, then, the substantial part of the scheme for including the fine arts within the pale of the University lies in the existence of the School of Architecture, and in its off-shoot, the recently founded Department of Civic Design. The above is the troubled history of its birth. Its subsequent career can be obtained from official sources. What, however, is worth a little consideration, especially in view of the proposals to include architecture in the curricula of other Universities like Cambridge, is the scope of architecture as an academic subject.

At the outset it is well to clear away a possible misconception. Architecture is neither archaeology on the one hand nor a petty form of engineering on the other. Teaching in architecture is not, therefore, teaching in archaeology or engineering, though it involves something of both, and can offer in these and other subjects valuable assistance to the University ideal of many-sided teaching. If architecture is received as a University subject, it must be received as a living and a very practical art. Modern problems must be faced. The student must be taught the actual technique of his art as the student of painting or sculpture is taught his technique in ordinary art school. His main work must be done on the drawing-board and not in the lecture room. The student of architecture is therefore in an entirely different position to the student of literature. The latter is not expected to write odes and sonnets, whereas that is exactly what the architectural student is expected to do. His degree or diploma, if it is to be a real thing, must be given on such original work. This brings us to the first assumed difficulty. How is a standard to be established? It is quite possible that if a degree in literature depended on a set of verses the real poet, especially if he worked in a new or alien form of verse, might suffer a plough. In architecture the same might apply, but for two safeguards. First, the certificate or degree can be awarded on a whole series of drawings and designs spread over a lengthy course; and secondly the metre can be prescribed. The experience of ten years at Liverpool, on both these points, is convincing. With a large series of drawings, such as a student accumulates in two or three years, there is no difficulty whatever in determining which student has the root of the matter in him and which has not. Further, if the metre, that is to say

the architectural style or mode of expression, be determined, judgment is both easy and safe.

The question therefore of examination raises at once the question of style. But this is much more directly raised by teaching itself. It might also be laid down as an axiom, that early teaching in any art to be effective must be academic. A convention must be assumed, and, more than that, it must be accepted as an article of faith. That alone will make a school into a living organism. The real question, therefore, underlying all others is this larger one :—Is it possible for a school of architecture, which is largely and necessarily a training ground in building technique for fledgeling architects, to attempt the wider sphere of a school of architectural thought ? If this is possible (and I hold that it is) its inclusion in any University is more than justified. Its teaching at once attains a significance which will carry it far beyond its actual students. Research in the ordinary sense is denied to the student of pure architecture. The mere increasing of the facts on which the basis of his work rests is done for him either by the archaeologist or by the engineer. But a finer research is open to him than the mere acquisition of knowledge. His research is to increase and sharpen his powers of expression, and that not for himself alone. Every good design does this to a certain small extent for all who follow. In this way the work of a school using the same architectural language becomes cumulative. Real originality can only exist on a basis of solid uniformity. When a multitude of people have learned the same language, then and then only the greatest masters of language arise. In architecture it is only through agreement as to the forms of expression and through the conscious restriction of those forms that perfection can be reached. When, in a large number of different solutions of a problem, a unity of thought appears, the whole acquires a new value which far transcends that of any individual work. In this way the work of a group of serious students may be more vitalising to architecture than that of individual artists of much greater capacity, who are working towards individual ends.

On every ground, therefore, of teaching, examination, and research, the one thing necessary for a University School of Architecture is that it should possess a definite gospel and preach it. It is only in this way that it can do work whose influence will warrant its university rank. The choice of gospel must ultimately depend on the faith of the teachers. The danger

is that a University in making its choice of teachers may be attracted by mere width of learning in the many possible modes of expression, rather than by individual creative power. Indeed, so general is the supposition that the former class of person is the only one qualified to hold a University post, that it is very unlikely that the artist type of architect rather that the critic type will present himself as a candidate. He will have to be searched out and bribed with opportunities to carry out his own work. Once, however, he is persuaded, his imagination will show him that a school, if properly conceived and organised, increases rather than diminishes his own opportunities for genuine creation. Filtering through the work of his students, and through that of the larger body of outside students all over the country—who will follow the work of his school, when once it becomes evident that it possesses a point of view and has a doctrine of its own—his power to impress himself on the architecture of his time is increased a thousandfold. That this work is largely anonymous is all to the good. Who can to-day estimate the vast influence which the Slade School has had on current conceptions of drawing and painting? Yet artists as a body would have great difficulty, and quite rightly so, in placing the exact amount of credit due to each of its distinguished teachers.

A result of this conception of the proper sphere of a University School of Architecture is at once a limitation both in the number of its scholars and in the general support it will receive. On the other hand its scholars will be of the only type worth having; many will come to it from a distance, or, when that is impracticable, they will remain in spiritual communion with it. The very conflicts it arouses will be the means of stirring the enthusiasm for life and work which alone makes art possible. We hear a great deal of the passion for truth and knowledge which stirs the scientific worker, and every University offers a few striking examples. But the passion for scientific work seems to me a thin and pale flame beside the glowing fire of enthusiasm necessary for any real productions in art, either by the individual or by the school. The University function, then, is to kindle such a fire and to provide the free and bracing atmosphere in which it can burn with a clear and steady light. And the best fuel for the fire is the spirit Professor Mackay arouses in all with whom he comes into contact.

C. H. REILLY

LIVERPOOL

THE IDEALS OF CIVIC DESIGN

It was a happy inspiration to call the department in the University of Liverpool which deals with the organisation of towns not the School of Town Planning but the School of Civic Design. Correctly speaking, the scope of Town Planning is limited to the making of wide roads, the providing of space about buildings, and to anything and everything that tends to the orderly disposition of a town. But closely associated with these practical issues, though somewhat beyond them, there are others, which because intangible and elusive are apt to be lost sight of and regarded as non-essential and immaterial. These, however, are the very things for which Town Planning stands; they are the end to which all else is but the way; they must be recognised, and their recognition at once raises Town Planning from the matter of fact to the ideal, from a science to an art: the art of Civic Design.

He who would excel in this art must have high ideals: ideals which, transcending the strata of convenience and comfort, defy dependence on utilitarian motives and thought. After all, what are these ideals but recollections of sublime moments, pictures from the panorama of experience and history: images, which resuscitated, transmitted and transformed, have shone forth time and again in the progress of mankind? This, then, is imagination—the kindling of associations; and the highest conception of a city is an aggregate of human dwellings adorned with associations that are the heritage of time. An old city is the embodiment of history: in a new city history can only be transcribed. The value of the transcription lies in the selection of the things recorded, and not, as the pedant supposes, on the accuracy of the statement or on its value as a mere record. Therein lies the difference between pedantry and originality.

To no branch of knowledge is the Civic Designer more indebted than to that presided over by the historian, he alone possesses the repository which is the treasure-house of civic art. And therefore, it is to men like Professor Mackay and to the great subject which they present that the Civic Designer looks for that inspiration which alone can convert what is merely a senseless aggregation of bricks and mortar, into a paradise of fancy, linked with the past and heralding a greater unknown.

Much indeed is expected of the Civic Designer; for not only must he be Town Planner, but also dictator of the Arts, leader of fashion in building, and arbiter in matters pertaining to architectural character and style. His calling is indeed a high one, but that this is his vocation is no idle assertion. Even so plain-spoken a document as the Town Planning Act of 1909 empowers him, in areas under consideration, to determine the character of each building that is to be erected thereon. It is an undeniable truth that a city reflects the character of its citizens, but it is equally true, and a much finer thought, that a great city will inspire its inhabitants to noble deeds. Already, since Town Planning and Housing have captured the imagination of administrators, hundreds and thousands of the wretched inhabitants of slums, crowded like vermin amidst the dust-heaps of an insensate industrialism, and now transported into healthy and attractive surroundings, have habituated themselves to an orderly existence; and, like wild flowers planted in a garden, have unhesitatingly submitted themselves to culture, flourishing wonderfully in their new condition.

In what way then can a city be made inspiring to its inhabitants? In what way can it be made to excite their ambitions, lead them to finer achievement, and fire their imaginations with the ideals of a nobler life? Only by embodying in its character the noblest associations of the past. To him who reads aright, a great city is indeed the greatest of all histories; writ on its walls, delineated in its mouldings and ornaments, and felt in its tones and colourings, are the sentiments of nations, as well as the idiosyncrasies of those who individually gave it birth.

The new city must be no mechanical camera outlining in exact profile the sentiment of a jaded Israelite, as we find him wandering in the wilderness during that forty years. Rather must it be a fruitful Palestine, or the Athens of Pericles after the struggle of a Persian war.

No more difficult or vexed question presents itself to the Civic Designer, than what constitutes right character and style. In considering it, it is almost impossible to avoid being dragged into the sphere of the metaphysician, but this cannot be avoided. The expression of style, which is crystallised character, is to-day a very conscious act; and the value of a modern example of architecture lies very largely in the intellectual attitude adopted in choosing the style. The more

elementary the civilisation, the more instinctive it will be, and, in the complexity of modern art, we must needs make of it a highly intellectual affair.

Those great civic effects which in less conscious periods were attained by autocratic influence, and which depended so much on the persistence of a style, can to-day only be produced by a willing combination of effort, by schools, and by a consensus of educated opinion directed to a common end. As an educationalist, therefore, it is the first duty of the Civic Designer to gather together and focus artistic effort, whenever and wherever directed in the building of a town. In connection, therefore, with the great matter of style and combined effort. it is of interest to note how the different nationalities have during modern times, expressed their character in their towns.

Germany, losing French inspiration with the war of 1870, and thrown back on her own resources, for thirty years continued to erect a *bric-à-brac* of uninspired confusion, as witness the Ringstrasse at Cologne. This period of incompetence in Germany corresponds to a time when very similar work was being done at home, for example, in the developments around Sefton Park, Liverpool, or around any mid-Victorian industrial town.

But Germany has taken her purgative and has rushed to the opposite extreme. Since the commencement of the present century cold logic has obsessed her arts, and basic principles have been driven back into the ages of primitive man.

The effect has been, that out of the contortions of a birth-struggle, at times grotesque and ludicrous in the serious self-consciousness of its self-imposed task, Germany is to-day the home of the Post-Impressionist, the Archaist and the many branches of the cult of the *art nouveau*. We look with interest to the progress of German art.

The art of the French towns has been less turbulent. Since 1870, when the style of the Second Empire froze into an icy coldness, or frittered itself away in a futile confusion of hard detail, France has been obsessed with the magnetism of mere *tours de force*. To-day civic architecture in France is in a sorry plight. We are told that Pascal and Nenot, the old champions of tradition, are wringing their hands at the aspect of France's confused thought.

America, thanks to the genius and intellect of the greatest of modern architects, MacKim, has lived through a brilliant architectural career. Would that town planners and architects

had gone hand in hand! for whilst American cities possess the finest examples of modern architecture in the world, their plans are of the mechanical chessboard type. They are formal without the elements of true formality, and convincing as are their units, taken as a whole, they exhibit an entire absence of composition or considered grouping of any kind.

Like the colonial towns of Greece, American cities far surpass the mother cities of modern Europe in the grandeur of their buildings; and, with an intellectual insight unbiassed by local traditions, America has clothed her cities with the finest raiment of classical thought.

Only in great cities can man be humanised. In the words of Pericles, it was to this that the greatness of the Athenian must be ascribed. For does not Thucydides credit him with saying :—

We have also found out many ways to give our minds recreation from labour, by the institution of games and sacrifices for all the days in the year; and by the handsome entertainments of private men; by the daily delights whereof we expel sadness. By the greatness of our city also, all things from all parts of the earth are imported hither, whereby we no less familiarly enjoy the commodities of all other nations than our own. And both in this respect our cities are worthy of admiration and also in divers other things. For we study good taste, and yet with frugality, and philosophy, and yet without effeminacy.

And yet again, Philip De Commines, writing of Venice in 1614, says :—

I wondered to behold the seat of this city, so many steeples, so many religious houses, and so much building, and all in the water; but especially that the people had none other passage to and fro in the town but of boats, whereof I think there are to the number of 30,000, but they be very small. Further, about the city (I mean with the compass round about of less than half a French league) are seventy houses of religion, as well of men as women, all in islands, sumptuously built, richly furnished within, and having goodly gardens belonging to them. Those within the city I comprehend not in this number; for within there are, besides these, the four orders of friars, and three-score and twelve parishes, besides a number of chapels of the companies of occupations, commonly called Confrairies. And sure it is a strange sight to behold so many great and goodly churches built in the sea. In the said place of Chafousine came five and twenty gentlemen to receive me, sumptuously apparelled in silk and scarlet, which welcomed me with an oration, and conveyed me to the Church of St. Andrew near to the town, whereas many other gentlemen met me, being accompanied with the ambassadors of Milan and Ferrara; and here also they received me with an oration, and afterwards led me into other boats, which they call flat, being much greater than the former. Two of them were covered with crimson satin, and decked within with

arras, each of them being large enough to have received forty persons. They placed me between these two ambassadors (for the midst in Italy is the most honourable place) and conveyed me along through the great street called the great Canal, which is so large that the galleys pass to and fro through it; yea, I have seen hard by the houses ships of 400 ton and above. Sure in my mind it is the goodliest street in the world and the best built, and reacheth in length from the one end of the town to the other. Their buildings are high and stately, and all of fine stone. The ancient houses are all painted; but the rest that have been built within these hundred years, have their front all of white marble, brought thither out of Istria an hundred miles thence, and are beautified with many great pieces of Porphery and Serpentine. To be short, it is the most triumphant city that ever I saw, and where ambassadors and strangers are most honourably entertained, the Commonwealth best governed, and God most devotedly feared. [And after describing the gilded chambers, he continues] But this is no such treasure to make account of as ready money; and yet of money they have no treasure, for the Duke himself told me before the Seniore, that it is among them a capital crime to mention of treasure in coin.

Would that we lived in an age like this, when everything was done with an eye to captivating the imagination, and when treasure in coin was not confused with treasure in kind! Then indeed we should have fine cities, stately buildings, wide parks, and honest people.

S. D. ADSHEAD

LIVERPOOL

CHEMICAL RESEARCH IN A MODERN ENGLISH UNIVERSITY

I

The modern Universities of England owe their existence to the great men of commerce and manufactures. Though the self-sacrificing devotion and inspired vision of a few great scholars and investigators here and there have contributed very largely to their foundation, yet they depend for their continued existence on the interest which they evoke in the minds of the leaders of commerce and manufacture. We shall, however, make a vast mistake if we imagine that these men have given of their material and intellectual riches to create machines for the manufacture of degrees, or homes of shelter for the destitute minds of our communities. Yet it is a stupendous fact that most of our modern Universities appear to exist for these very purposes. It is almost as if the men who fashioned their constitutions had forgotten the ancient tradition of their spiritual mothers. Else why have they not torn the scales from the eyes of the English people, and given them a more valiant vision of the freedom and the dignity of Learning?

The modern English University is in grave danger of becoming a vast jumble sale of cheap knowledge. It offers to British mediocrity a variety of pinchbeck articles. For this purpose it invents a ridiculously complex system of lectures and examinations, so fashioned and arranged that the mediocre shall obtain a 'degree' in two or three years. As if Learning had a time-limit, like a football match, or for its goal the victory of examinee over examiner, like a cockfight or a boxing contest. What a sorry spectacle is that in merry England! There are Pass lectures and Honours lectures; and so there are two sorts of Truth in this melancholy bazaar, the half-truth and the whole-truth, one a weak pabulum for timid stomachs, the other (let us hope) the food of strong men. For the honour of England it is time that our modern Universities were freed from the shackles of this false system. The teaching of the University must have no object and no goal save the diffusion and advancement of knowledge, and, by that means and by

the example of its teachers, the creation of men whose spirits are free and whose minds are moulded for right thought and action. Only free men can breed free men. And if the attainment of true knowledge and intellectual freedom is to be signalised by a title, then only those shall be received into the aristocracy of Learning who have, regardless of time and effort, proved themselves worthy of the rank by a real kinship of spirit.

Let the doors of the University be flung open to all. Let him who enters therein find a cordial welcome for all such as seek whole-heartedly for truth, and the power to advance the Kingdom of God, which is the Kingdom of truth, upon this earth. No half-truth here, to be sold to faint hearts for tinsel rank and vulgar pelf. And he who is not fitted to enter into this Kingdom, let him toil by the sweat of his brow so that he become fit, but let not the passing clouds of his mind darken the light for his worthier fellows. If we set this beacon on our towers, what a light shall shine in the land! Many a faint heart will become brave, many a sleeper will awake. So shall a new England arise, strong and free, men and women whose lives have been irradiated by a perception of that beauty and harmony which alone can protect them from the defilement of vulgarity and ignorance. Only thus can a modern University justify its ancient title. Modern it may be in the sense of embracing the ever widening realms of knowledge, but the manner and the method of its teaching must be free from the fetters of a vulgar ambition and a short-sighted utilitarianism. Else let us have done with nonsense, and, calling a spade a spade, strike out that ancient name, and mistake not an intellectual trade school for a home of free learning and joyous hope.

II

Having thus, however imperfectly, set forth the ideal of a University, whether ancient or modern, we may proceed to a consideration of our more immediate subject, namely, the diffusion and advancement of chemical learning in a modern University.

Of all the realms of natural knowledge Chemistry is the most all-embracing. The history of the earth, the sciences of geology and mineralogy, are but branches thereof. All our industries are directly or indirectly dependent on it. But supreme and

above all, life itself has chosen chemical actions as its material expression, so that we, the self-imagined lords of the world, are as dependent as the modest flowers beneath our feet on the ebb and flow of chemical change. The history of the emergence of man is the history of his chemical discoveries, and even the very ages of his civilisation are named thereafter. Medicine first threw off her ancient shackles at the bidding of chemistry, and though the two have since gone far apart it is safe to predict that the future of medicine lies in the hands of chemists. Indeed the destiny of the human race becomes more and more a matter of chemical science. The exhaustion of our supplies of natural fuel or the oncoming of another ice age may drive stricken humanity to the torrid deserts of this planet, unless the chemical discoveries of the future come to its aid. And the earth would soon cease to support its swarming population were it not for the means devised by chemistry for renewing and increasing the fertility of exhausted soils. Before such facts the proud spirit of man must bow, and yield a high position in the sum of human knowledge to chemical science. The advancement of chemistry at our Universities becomes then a matter of the utmost importance. But the recognition of this urgency is insufficient. For there is now no country and no University in the world that fails to recognise it. The question for us to consider is how this vastly important part of human knowledge should best be advanced in our modern Universities. Knowledge cannot, however, be taught in water-tight compartments. The chemist must be taught the history of mankind as well as the history of the inanimate earth. He may not indeed become a fine appreciator of the classical writings of Greece or Rome or India in their original forms. He may pass somewhat lightly over the details of the political combinations and disaggregations of humanity. But he must know the living thoughts, the great deeds and the powerful forces that have stirred mankind from earliest times. The Germans call this *Kulturgeschichte*. It embraces the history of religion, philosophy, art, literature, and science, as well as the history of the evolution of law, government, and nationality. But, alas, our modern Universities have no Chairs of *Kulturgeschichte*. And the arrangement of lectures and the bondage of examinations and time-limit degrees make it impossible for the student of chemistry to gain any inkling of this fundamental knowledge. What wonder is it then that he turns at once to the business of his life, and becomes, like

his fellow students of every other Faculty, a premature specialist ? Specialist indeed he must finally become, for specialisation is only another word for the acquirement of knowledge at its fountain head, which is the *conditio sine qua non* for the advancement of knowledge, the real aim and function of a University. The mischief and the danger lie in the enforced immaturity. In this respect our modern Universities are making a cardinal error. They have analysed themselves into a hundred scheduled departments, but nowhere can the eager seeker find a synthesis of Learning. And, alas, the reason is all too obvious. They cater, not for the free and unfettered acquirement of knowledge, but for the manufacture of degrees at a maximum speed.

But let us pretend, as in the fairy tales of our youth, and imagine that the student of chemistry is truly prepared to concentrate his attention on his own science. How shall he learn it ? There is indeed only one road, namely, the history of its gradual development, which is a part of the history of human thought and action.

Ignorance has two dimensions, one of space and one of time, and discontinuity is of the essence of both. We cannot understand a thing without knowing its relation to contemporaneous things and without a knowledge of the things that have preceded it. So chemical science can only be taught as a branch of history, and as a related part of human knowledge. Thus taught it becomes a 'humanity,' a branch of true culture. The chemical student feels himself akin with the decipherer of a Babylonian document or the discoverer of the hidden beauties of a Latin poet. The kinship of all true knowledge is revealed to him, and his soul awakes to the spirit of a University.

By gradually unfolding the history of his science and explaining the efforts and struggles of men to discover and formulate the meaning of the external world, the University teacher imperceptibly brings his students to the fringe of present knowledge. Imperceptibly, for his students have ever been on the crest of the advancing wave. They understand the present, for they have been led up to it through the history of the past. They are critical, for they have witnessed not only the power but also the frailty of the human mind. And so gently, and without pride, they become the investigators of the unknown, for that to them has become the natural course. And when they go forth into the world this attitude of mind remains, as the priceless gift of their *alma mater*.

It is not necessary, nay it is exceedingly harmful, to swamp their minds with the ever more swiftly advancing flood of detailed facts. These they can always find in the great dictionaries of science. What they require of the history of the past is a firm hold of the discovered harmonies. What they require of their preparation for the future is a plastic imagination, the desire and the power to think, and the energy and courage to act.

III

Too much stress can easily be laid on practical laboratory routine, which when carried to excess is very liable to deaden thought and originality. The hand and the eye must, of course, be trained. But after that the work in the laboratory is only of value as an exemplification of scientific method, not as a manual cataloguing of scientific methods. A few things really well and thoroughly done are sufficient. The immense repetition of known things can very easily satiate the curiosity and blunt the mind of the young investigator. And it has the grave defect of tending to make him think he knows a great deal. Whereas it is the very realisation of ignorance that suggests investigation to his mind. It does not very much matter what subject he investigates. The stirring of the imagination, the awakening of the spirit of enquiry, are the fundamental things. He must live in the joyous hope of finding beauty and harmony in Nature. If there be no perception of these things in his mind, there will be no desire to know, and therefore none to investigate. The business of the University teacher is to lead the wanderer to the open gates, to stand by his side ready to help should he falter or stumble ; and so, by comradeship and human sympathy to make a man.

The work of chemical research is in no wise differentiated from other branches of work in a University. The recognition of the unity, kinship, and continuity of all forms of true learning is the hall-mark of a University training, as it is the stamp of true culture wherever found. The beauty and harmony of Nature can be sought for and found as readily in the glowing furnaces of a chemical factory as in the dreams of a Greek poet. The modern University has banished for ever the snobbery of a one-sided and narrow culture. It has created a

new and universal human sympathy. We live indeed in the midst of a renascence of thought as great as that which stirred the minds and hearts of men four hundred years ago. But in the modern Universities of England the new spirit is still cramped and fettered by a ghostly horde of dead conventions. Startled by the rapid advance of prosperity in Germany, England has sent many a commission to that land to investigate and enquire. But has it been perceived that a great part of Germany's success is due to her steadfast adherence to the true ideals of a University? There are no 'pass' and 'honours' students, no compulsory lectures, no degrees reckoned in hours or years of routine work at a German University. But to everyone is accorded the freedom of Learning, and of everyone is demanded some addition, however humble, to the sum of human knowledge. That done, the applicant receives a *mark of rank*, a symbol of the Order into which he is received. The German does not write all the letters of the alphabet *after* his name. It is not a degree in the English sense that he receives, but a title of dignity and honour which he bears through life. There may be many imperfections in the German way. But in their University system we find what is sadly missing in the modern English Universities, namely, a true perception of the freedom and dignity of *Wissenschaft*. It is this which constitutes the intellectual strength of Germany, and as a result her material prosperity. The practical-minded Englishman returns from his visit amazed by the vast extent and development of the German *Technische Hochschulen*. The blessed word 'technical' rings in his ears. He proclaims it aloud in the land. But has he caught the meaning of the word *Hochschule*? It must be confessed that he has not, and yet therein and therein alone lies the true secret.

There is instant need of awakening in England, and of immediate change. It is a shame, and a stain on the honour of England, that her new Universities can only support themselves by bartering away their freedom and granting 'Pass' B.A.'s and B.Sc.'s. Most of these alphabetical stigmata would be unworthy of a good German secondary school. As products of English Universities, they constitute nothing less than the degradation and prostitution of Learning.

F. G. DONNAN

London

FERMENTATION

I

My object in covering these few sheets of paper is to pass rapidly, touching none but essential points, over the stepping-stones of the process of fermentation. Once over these elements, a view may be seen, which I would describe ; namely, a view of the necessities required in the process of brewing and of the difficulties encountered in its control. Then, enlightened by this view, obtained after so short a journey, I will ask my readers to forget their fatigue, and to see me pay public homage to one whom I shall make free to call a 'master-brewer,' a term to be explained as I pass on. Now if, in the course of this odd venture, analogies are handled from the outset, which to men of letters seem ill-chosen ; may it be said that this course is followed in the interests of brevity ? If, when the conclusion is reached, their apparent utility is not seen as an ample excuse for their employment, pardon is asked, and the assurance given that there is no desire to offend. To the writer, brewing is a thoroughly scientific and highly honourable profession.

Nor are these stepping-stones many. Their names are, solvent, substrate, ferment, motion. Thus, every simple process of fermentation taking place within a solvent entails the interaction of three requisites : a substrate ; a ferment ; and a state of molecular motion provided by heating the mixture to some well-defined 'optimal' temperature. The substrate is the material, which, owing to the manipulation of the ferment, undergoes chemical change ; being sometimes thus broken down into materials of a simpler molecular kind, sometimes built up into material of greater complexity. The ferment, the mechanism responsible for these changes, like any other durable machine, may act upon extraordinary quantities of substrate if its time of action is sufficiently prolonged ; but when a shorter time is given, then a number of similar machines must be utilised, and the ferment added in greater relative mass. Thus, when these essentials are well handled ; as, by a deft adjustment of quantities, a critical choice of substrate and ferment, an ever watchful regard for the temperature, and constant attention to the degree of dilution secured by the solvent ; a laudable effect may be obtained, and some

definite kind and rate of fermentation made certain. Such an effect, however, laudable as it may appear, would not yet be considered as worthy of the dignified title of 'brew.'

So much for the stepping-stones, but the view is not yet quite in sight. Looking from this side, we must first again gaze at the ferment to discover why a still greater delicacy of treatment, and a much more elaborate selection of materials and conditions, are essential in arranging a 'brew.' Each ferment, admirable as is its action, has a severely limited part to play and is peculiarly specific in its effect. Thus, like many other complex machines, every ferment is arranged to deal with only one kind of substrate. When, then, a mixture of substrates is to be affected in every particle, a whole group of dissimilar ferments may be required. Further, too, it may be desirable to subject the chemical product of one fermentation-process to a further fermentation of a dissimilar kind; and thus, in order that a series of successful chemical changes may be produced, each one dependent upon the success of its predecessor, a long concatenation of ferments may have to be presented in the right order, and each at the right time. Thus it is only when an orderly series of grouped effects has been secured by skilful management that brewing may be said first to have occurred.

Now, once we are furnished with this view of brewing, a fact of great consequence stands out clear. Thus although at once, and without this acquired knowledge, a brewery might have been regarded as a commercial affair in pre-eminent need of a man of business dealing promptly, and with experience, with the things that apparently matter most: it is now clear that there is even greater need of an expert brewer to handle wisely these continually changing and complicated affairs. For example, in the animal body, which is a brewery, though on first consideration great attention is given to the presence of the brain; later, admiration is compelled to acknowledge the presence of some more subtle chieftainship, much more difficult to localise and define, which you may call 'Nature' or what you will. It is indeed marvellously to the point to have carried this view of brewing into the body, since there brewing is seen at its best. There we may see a new group of ferments produced at short notice to deal with new substrates as they occur.

The view then is clear; we see the brewer, and have begun to glimpse different brewers. Thus, keeping to this apt analogy

of the animal body, we are familiar with great differences in the constitutional brews of different bodies. There is no need then of any laboured argument to establish the existence of differences between individual brewers, and to support the statement that they vary in the measure of their success. Some, brewers of small account, are never much more than immersed in their brew; some always just manage to merit the credit assigned to expert control; some are so assuredly responsible for excellent effects of special kinds, and for clear triumphs over exceptional difficulties, that they must of necessity be given an ampler credit, and so complete a distinction as is implied in the title of 'master-brewer.'

Now if, in dealing with the body, a distinction was drawn between the brewer and the brain, let it be remembered that the brain is also in the brewery and is the site of fermentations. Indeed, wherever life is found, and so far as life is a thing of matter, these are the things of main importance,—these fermentations and their energetic control. What a pleasure then to the writer, passing over his stepping-stones, to have gained touch at last with the master-brewers and with the brain; knowing, all the time, that the mechanisms of writing, even including the brain, are the result and site of interminable brewing, which might well have brought him elsewhere, and led him arbitrarily towards some humbler form of contemplation and expression! Indeed it is clear that, to speak of any thing so small as a man as a master-brewer, is to proceed with a microscope towards a discovery of the smaller things thus painfully observed and of their similarity to those greater ones seen previously with the naked eye. Having, however, once given any man this title, it is seen that it is a compliment to nothing less in him than the essential qualities of his mind. It is also clear that the master-brewer is above the ferments even more undoubtedly than he is superior to the brewers. The humble ferments, until, as will follow, they also are made human, we shall put for the present aside: the brewer may be no more than a pedant, efficient perhaps in statement but not in action, frequently prolific in regrets that he might have done better—perhaps even done much—in more suitable surroundings and in a more sympathetic age: but a master-brewer is a prince of action, an instantaneous creator and adapter of working devices, to whom his surroundings and his fellows are like moulder's clay.

Now, if it should seem that in the last statement there is

some bewilderment, and that the master-brewer's field of activity is confusedly changed from the mash-tub and vat to the society formed by his fellow-men, there are facts which justify this assumption of similarity between seemingly dissimilar things and so remove the confusion. Thus, to begin with the matter again from a new base, and suitably rearrange our definitions; it is well known that there are many men fittingly described as 'substrate,' whose conduct is determined for them by others as suitably termed 'ferment.' Upon the substrate, the ferment here again acts as a machine, and by its continued action is responsible for maintaining the conduct of large masses of the substrate at a particular level of efficiency. Where again, as in general, complicated schemes of dissimilar conduct must be sustained simultaneously in the life of the community, many different types of ferment are required, each exhibiting a specific activity. Nor, these postulates once granted, is there any difficulty in perceiving the work of the brewers who handle these ferments, sometimes to the temporary improvement, sometimes to the detriment, of humanity. That there is indeed such a class of men is a fact daily in evidence. Surely, now, on this higher level, we shall every now and then catch some glimpse of the work of a master-brewer. This latter part of our search brings us however up against a new difficulty, the special difficulty introduced on this new plane of analogy by the humanity of this new substrate and ferment.

Thus the master-brewer presiding over the vat is to the front and noticeable, as noticeable as the brewer, with nothing to be gained by concealing the facts of his influence from the senseless material with which he deals. The master-brewer presiding over society has, on the other hand, frequent need of a less obvious position of authority. Remember the Hibernian artifice whereby a humble beast of burden may be driven over a bridge 'in the reverse order,' and you will find in that remembrance a suggestion of some of the reasons underlying this indisputable fact. The sensible nature of the substrate and ferment entails the exhibition of a new quality in the master-brewer, the demand for which is again reinforced by the conduct of the brewers. Thus, where made use of, the latter are most advantageously placed in positions exciting great respect from the now thinking substrate and ferment, and this is a characteristic which the master-brewer must handle as deftly as any other characteristic. There are other reasons also; but it follows that now the position of greatest

influence is by no means necessarily in the front; and indeed that it exists only just there, where at any time the master-brewer is to be found. Thus then arises the new difficulty, that the most patient observation, and that only in part made upon persons of astounding dignity, is required to identify the master-brewer. There is, however, one rule which still holds good and is full of courage to the student, namely, that there is no brew of excellence that has not somewhere behind it a master-brewer.

Now if the facts just stated are duly considered, they will be seen as introducing on the top of this difficulty a trouble of even greater consequence. Contemplation will make it clear that even when you have seen a master-brewer it might be well not to name him, certainly at least when he is in the thick of his brew. Let the fact be proclaimed that there is a master-brewer present and in action, and there is an immediate end to his powers. It is true that they may return, when the fact is denied; then, once more, with his ferments the substrate may yield to his hand.

II

If any reader has followed me to this point I beg to thank him. He will see the *impasse* to which I have come. But whilst we are in contact there is a letter in my possession which it is good to see. It marks the point of departure in a masterly brew which was continued, not without direction, towards a completion of considerable importance.

DEAR SIR, *February* 21, 1901

In answer to your kind note, I will with your leave change the subject to 'Would a Liverpool University benefit us?' It may be of greater interest to them than my favourite subject.

Very truly yours,

S. A. THOMPSON YATES

I am not, then, the first person who would seem to have changed a subject. It is remarkable too that the change announced in that letter was primarily instigated by Mackay, of whom I am just about to speak as briefly as possible, and for the first time directly.

It would be an impertinence on my part to attempt to inform Liverpool men as to the important occurrences which ensued so rapidly as a direct consequence of this change of subject.

There had been much brewing in that Club, with its quaintly, no not quaintly but truly, anticipatory title, but none more practical than was then developed by Mackay. To my knowledge, as then Secretary of the Club, there was also a widely held opinion,—rapidly, however, altered, as the strength of the brew became more evident,—that the time was not come for such brewing. I saw something of what was done, and much of Mackay, and I saw nothing done that was not full of honour, and of value to Liverpool. If he will forgive me, it is to him that my homage is due.

In the preceding pages I have endeavoured to present my appreciation of Mackay as a man of great moment, and have proceeded towards this purpose by parable. That form of utterance must be abandoned, since I speak no longer as a single witness. What I have now to say may be taken as in part at least a representative opinion, advanced at this opportunity after consultation with, and approval by, colleagues.

In Sheffield we are heavily indebted to Mackay. He is known here to have definitely accelerated progress at a time of acutely realised crisis. To explain just how this happened I must briefly relate some incidents in our history.

Our former University College was, in its origin, the result of efforts made in three educational directions, Arts and Science, Engineering, and Medicine. Three institutions were amalgamated, and soon the joint College thus formed was presented as fit for admission into the general scheme of the old Victoria University. This admission was denied, and criticisms made. The necessary funds were collected from the citizens of Sheffield with which to reach the levels of efficiency displayed as desirable in those criticisms. This had just been done, and gratitude had been fully expressed for this liberal provision of funds. At this, locally, inauspicious moment, the approaching disruption of the Victoria University was announced. The question immediately arose as to the particular cloak of University protection under which this developed College was now to be placed.

To understand the difficulties of the time it must be realised that a strong independence is one of the characteristics of our local institutions, trade, and men. Even in educational matters, evidence might at once be advanced to show that independent lines had been followed with success, and there was no desire to commingle the educational efforts of the locality unnecessarily with those of other districts. It may

seem strange, that no feeling of probable dependence was associated with the formerly proposed entrance into partnership with other North of England districts in this matter of University education : whereas this was definitely feared as a consequence of any more limited partnership. Nevertheless, without explaining the fact, it may be said that this was the case. The locality was anxious to preserve the independence of its improved University College.

The crisis was acute. University protection was necessary even to an otherwise independent University College. What was to be done ?

Now I do not wish to overstate the facts, and, in particular, am anxious to avoid the impression that there were no men of wide experience, ability, and scholarship engaged here in dealing with this question. Far otherwise ! Such men were indeed present, and extremely active, but their minds had largely been concentrated on the immediately pre-existing state of affairs, upon the collection and utilisation of their new funds. They had laboriously helped and guided local effort up a hill, and were now suddenly faced with further unexpected and considerable difficulties. There was reason, it will be admitted, for expecting some of the quiet, less strenuous years such as had been experienced elsewhere. Mackay came and said that those years represented a waste of time, that it had been so elsewhere, and that it would be so here. He impressed his point, and the years were not wasted.

It is needless to relate just how he came, but it was at the express invitation of a privately-formed Committee—no caucus, for they were men mainly without other than personal influence in the matter, or than such small official influence as then attached to members of the College Senate. Once he was introduced, his advice was widely sought, and by practical men who had greater influence on immediately practical points ; who later followed it. The general impression left behind was that, if he was an idealist, as might be gathered from his enthusiasm, he was also a hard-headed and clear-eyed man of specially valued experience, who could define practical issues in a most reasonable way, and suggest practical means for dealing with them.

His visit was at once followed by the public appearance of an ideal, hitherto—if conceived—shyly kept in the background, namely, that of an independent University in Sheffield.

SHEFFIELD J. S. MACDONALD

MATHEMATICS AS AN ARTS SUBJECT

I

In a German University, what is not Theology, Law or Medicine is Philosophy. In the Faculty of Philosophy, Natural Science, Philology, and Mathematics meet on equal terms. A student whose main interests are mathematical is as able to take Latin and Greek as accessory subjects as he is to take Physics and Astronomy. Equally with the German professor, the German mathematical student would feel it a hardship to be confined to a Faculty of Science.

In France, on the other hand, the severance, in form at least, of Mathematics from the humane studies, usually so-called, is so marked that it is the common practice in addressing a communication to a mathematical professor to omit the word 'University' and to replace it by the expression 'Faculty of Science.'

Here in England the matter is still in doubt. At the older Universities the mathematician, like the Science student himself, takes his degree in Arts; and it is only in the exceptional case in which he undertakes researches of such merit as to give him a claim to a Doctor's degree that he becomes aware of the existence of a tendency to change his denomination. At London and at Liverpool a student may obtain, chiefly or largely on his mathematical work, a degree in Honours, equally in Arts and in Science. I think, however, I may assert without much fear of contradiction that till lately the feeling, here at least, has been growing, that Mathematics was a Science and not an Arts subject. Quite recently, however, by the institution of a Chair of Mathematics associated with the Faculty of Arts—I refer of course to the Chair of the Philosophy and History of Mathematics which I have the honour to hold—the University of Liverpool has definitely, and I hope irrevocably, thrown its influence into the scale on the other side. This step—a momentous one as it seems to me, not only in the history of the University, but also in that of Learning in England—has been, I believe I am right in stating, largely due to the initiative of J. M. Mackay, the Professor of History.

In the present paper I propose to explain what seem to me to be some of the reasons why the matter was ever in doubt,

and why I regard the decision now arrived at as the right one.

In practical England, even as recently as forty years ago, the only rivalry which can be properly said to have existed in our schools and colleges was that of Classics and Mathematics. These two subjects held the field against all comers; but the greater consideration, the more ample rewards, were reserved for the devotees of what were deemed to be the more enlightening studies. I remember in this connection a well-known head master explaining to us boys the truth that lay behind the words of Pope,

The proper study of mankind is man,

and his remarks were directed at least as much against Mathematics as against that heterogeneous subject called Natural Science, which was beginning successfully to assert its right to at least one hour a week in the school time-table.

Since then times have changed, and the mathematician has more than once received from and afforded to his classical rival valuable help in the fights for the maintenance or realisation of their respective ideals. I may instance the abolition of the order of merit in the Mathematical Tripos at Cambridge, where some of the chief opponents were the lawyers and theologians; and the retention of Greek, where mathematicians and classics joined hands with the theologians against the natural scientists. There can be, I think, no doubt that the mathematician and the classical scholar in England understand one another, or at least are prepared to take on trust the values of their respective studies, to an extent which was unknown forty years ago. But the old feeling none the less remains though its bitterness has passed away. The mathematician is still conceived to be not as other men are. He is a weird creature and not quite a whole man who, if he is efficient as a mathematician, is likely to be almost worthless for other purposes, and, in particular, will only in quite exceptional cases be able to keep order among the boys and to converse rationally with his colleagues.

I hope I shall not be regarded by my brother mathematicians as a renegade if I confess that I think there has been occasionally good ground for this feeling, though I claim that the explanation is to be found in circumstances of an accidental character, and not in the nature of Mathematics itself. The English mathematical training, even that given at Cambridge, has to some extent had the effect of warping the minds submitted to it, checking as it has done the natural desire to exchange

ideas, stunting the imagination, and sharpening some of the intellectual faculties at the expense of the mind as a whole; while at the same time many of the ablest intellects have for these very reasons been deterred from even commencing a mathematical career.

Our mathematical teachers then arrived at our public and secondary schools from the University with a more or less considerable degree of skill in the solution of problems, but with no grasp and very little knowledge either of the philosophy of their subject or of its practical applications. The system in vogue in England and Scotland, as distinct from that in other European countries, was till quite lately a purely formal one. The text of Euclid, and 'tricks to show the stretch of human brain, Mere curious pleasure or ingenious pain,' formed the main subject of mathematical study. The plan of teaching Euclid adopted even by high Cambridge wranglers was that of making the boys learn the propositions by heart, and then write them out from memory in a period set apart in the school time-table for the purpose. On the other hand in Algebra and Trigonometry the master either met his class with the words 'Turn to page so-and-so, begin at example so-and-so, and go straight on,' or else he varied this procedure with preliminary remarks of the nature 'This is the way it is done,' and a rapid though careful solution of a typical example on the blackboard. It is not surprising that the average boy, and, still more, one naturally gifted, and with varied intellectual interests, but with no particular turn for calculation, should have failed to see any use in this, and have felt some scorn both for the master himself and for those of whom the master approved.

These circumstances alone go far to account for the distrust which may have been felt by professors on the Arts Faculty for Mathematics and mathematicians.

II

To these negative reasons for wishing to exclude Mathematics from the Arts Faculty may be added positive ones for associating it with Science and Engineering. In the first place, to begin with the schools, the character of the teaching there in the lower classes has undergone a notable change. The purely formal method no longer holds undisputed sway. Graphical methods and practical illustrations are frequently employed, and the average boy has begun to see that there is some good

in Mathematics. The teaching of Mathematics has been more or less closely assimilated in character to that of Science. Propositions in Geometry have been tested by experiment, and logical proofs have not been insisted on. Moreover, the teacher has not been infrequently a physicist. This movement, begun in the schools, has been carried over to a certain extent to the University.

Though supported by many mathematicians of the philosophical school, who were dissatisfied with the formal methods, and were glad to see their subject awarded a greater degree of attention, the changes in the mathematical teaching just described were brought about by the action of the scientists and the engineers, and it is small wonder if the man in the street has been led to suppose Mathematics to be really a branch of Natural Science, and to gauge its value by the same standards.

But this is not all. As the usefulness of mathematical processes for scientific purposes has come to be more and more realised, and the mathematician has come more and more into request ; the justification of his existence has been regarded as consisting in his ability to provide the man of Science, the engineer, the statistician and the like with convenient methods of calculation. Even in the subject-matter of their teaching mathematicians are no longer left alone.

The mathematical professors at the provincial Universities have had to look to the students of Natural Science and the engineers for their main audience, and have rarely ventured, even when the acquirements and ability of their pupils permitted it, to teach them what their engineering and scientific colleagues might be disposed to regard as unnecessary. Mathematics has been fast becoming the handmaid of Technics.

In making these last remarks I shall, I hope, not be misunderstood. It has been my privilege to know personally some of the greatest living expositors of the Natural Sciences, and I have almost invariably found them whole-hearted in their pursuit of truth, and prepared actively to resent any suggestion that they were there to further industries, or that they were unaware of the limitations imposed by the nature of things on the scope of their researches. Only recently a distinguished botanist, who, by the way, has the greatest respect for Mathematics and mathematicians, expressed to me his conviction that a study of the humanities, and more especially of philosophy, was an indispensable preliminary to a scientific career in the fullest sense. What the world is suffering from at the present

moment, he said, is the prevailing idea that science is capable of solving all its difficulties. He felt, I think, that, like the Author of our religion, the true scientist hides himself away from those who clamour that he should provide them with material comforts. Like Him, the true scientist will only exceptionally work miracles, and will repudiate the idea that he has come into the world for the purpose of performing them.

None the less the man of science is becoming keenly alive to the growing necessity for him to be able to treat his problems quantitatively as well as qualitatively, and to the fact that in consequence mathematical symbolism and mathematical processes must form to an ever increasing extent an integral part of his equipment. The additional burden which he has thus to carry is in any case, he feels, a heavy one, and it is not to be wondered at that he desires that his pupils should only receive such instruction in the use of the mathematical tools as is indispensable. His very passion for his own subject disposes him to be miserly of the time which he is prepared to allow them to spend on Mathematics.

But it is clear that the existence of this very natural wish has no bearing on the question 'What is Mathematics?' or even 'To what Faculty should she belong?' To restrict the study of Mathematics to such portions of it as may be useful to the students of particular subjects would be as reasonable as to restrict the study of English Philology to the vocabulary required for the purposes of communicating the results of laboratory research.

III

The reader who has followed me thus far will have already seen, at least by implication, the nature of my contention. In the schools the reform has been one-sided. It has not been accompanied by a complementary reform of the teaching in the upper classes of the schools and the lower classes of our Universities. As a result, the logical and philosophical element has been eliminated from mathematical study, to an extent which, our best mathematical teachers themselves assure us, has been nothing short of disastrous. If the weaker pupils have in many cases gained by the exclusive use of practical methods, the more intelligent ones have no less failed under

the new *régime* to acquire precisely that power of clear thinking which it has been the boast of the mathematical training to impart. The success of the new movement has been purchased at too heavy a cost, even from the point of view of the schools themselves. The argument, then, based on the schools is not valid. The attempt to assimilate mathematical to scientific teaching has failed. Neither the old nor the reformed teaching has struck the right note, and deductions as to the nature and value of mathematical training based on them are without value.

The argument which might be adduced from France, where all mathematicians as such belong to the Science Faculty, and where most of the more distinguished ones have passed through the *École Polytechnique* and have been engineers before they became mathematicians, may be matched by the practice in Germany. For the rest, the French mathematician has for the most part been astoundingly little affected by his engineering and scientific training; he has been even in recent years more abstract in his mathematical conceptions than the German. The true mathematician remains a mathematician however much of Engineering, or of Physics, or of Chemistry, he may have studied. These subjects are of interest to him in so far as they may have incidentally fertilised his mathematical conceptions. The mathematician will gain, like the philosopher, by possessing some knowledge of Science, but he is no more than the philosopher to be condemned for that reason to remain in perpetual servitude to the students of natural phenomena. Like the humanities the subject of his study is a creation of the human mind, together with the light that this creation throws on its workings.

If the proper study of mankind is man, that edifice of mathematical reasoning, which may perhaps be regarded as the greatest of all human achievements in the field of pure thought, has surely a right to an independent, nay to a lofty place in our scheme of University teaching. If that only of our human civilisation is of value, which is directly bound up with the phenomena of the world around us, only those parts of Mathematics can be retained which directly throw light on these; but, if Mathematics goes, which of the Arts subjects will remain?

IV

The mathematician has this great disadvantage as compared with his colleagues, that the language in which he is accustomed to express himself is not familiar to them, and this equally whether he expresses himself in mathematical prose or in mathematical poetry, whether he talks of ideas or of results, of theories or of processes. But I can at least explain in sufficiently intelligible terms what Mathematics is not.

The study of mere results is not the study of Mathematics, and the power of solving riders and problems is not the characteristic of the true mathematician. We might conceive one of the lower animals endowed with the power of calculation, but we should not regard such a creature, whose gifts stopped there, as the intellectual equal of even the least intelligent among us. The physicist who successfully employs Mathematics for his own purposes is not, as such, a mathematician, and in saying this I believe I have gone to the root of the difficulty of securing for mathematical studies and research a proper recognition in England. The English mathematical physicist or 'applied mathematician,' as he is so often called, is frequently anti-mathematical in his outlook, when it comes to the question of recognising the interest of mathematical theories, of which for the rest he is often completely ignorant, or possesses a partial knowledge sometimes worse than ignorance. On the other hand he has himself been often tempted to employ the mathematical apparatus of which he, among physicists, has the sole disposal, in a manner which, to the true experimentalist, the man in contact with nature itself, appears ridiculous. That his researches have none the less been of the greatest value at critical epochs, is a striking testimony to the efficiency of his mathematical tools. Moreover it is this very success which has led to the demand for a knowledge of Mathematics in the other sciences. The mathematical physicist has thus been forced into the position of official apologist for Mathematics, and he has treated his brief as might be expected.

The true mathematician is interested in results only in so far as they throw light on theory, or, in virtue of some peculiar elegance of form, appeal to his aesthetic sense. There is no difficulty in obtaining more and more complicated formulae and configurations, in devising transformations for the one, and discovering properties of the other. The endless vistas thus opened up to the mathematical formulist have rendered

him pessimistic. But, if propositions are many, theories are few, and concepts are still fewer, while relations of a fundamental character can only be obtained by the exercise of great concentration, often of a powerful imagination, and by much subtilty of mind.

Moreover the mathematician is bound periodically to return to, and perhaps extend or add to, the number of his primary concepts, and to be thus brought into contact with the philosopher, gaining himself in inspiration, even when he overthrows a system.

V

I think that a knowledge of these fundamental concepts,—those of Number, of Integral, of Differential coefficient, the Postulates of Geometry, the idea of Group, of Limit, of Function of Curve and Surface, of Invariant, of Singularity, of Continuity and Discontinuity, of the various kinds of Impossibilities, of the various kinds of Non-finiteness, of the different types of Order, of Space which is unbounded and yet finite, of Dimensions, of processes which preserve and processes which change, of operations whose result depends on the order in which they are applied, should be possessed by every thinker, and many of them by every teacher. And yet in this enumeration I have omitted all reference to the concept of Time and its derived concepts, in particular that of Motion or Change of Motion, and their conventional explanations. The student of Mathematics will however of necessity concern himself on occasion with these matters, and with other portions of the Science of Pure Thought. The introduction of Time corresponds indeed to the consideration of a fourth dimension, and it may even be employed for the purpose of the construction of a new geometry, as interesting theoretically, and more general, than what is known as Non-Euclidian Geometry.

But it is above all the gradual evolution of these concepts that will attract his attention. He will be struck with the inevitableness of progress, and with the conviction that what has been gained remains. He will be astounded at the fruitfulness of mere conventions, conventions which come to possess a shadowy reality of their own, but to which he will not be tempted to attribute the material existence that he might do, if he were a chemist or a physicist. He will run no danger, indeed, of ascribing to them all the properties of the

concepts which they complete by association or by antithesis. He will ever perceive a tendency towards simplicity and universality. More important than all, he will begin to realise that every question, properly asked, has an answer, that every difficulty encountered has its solution or its application.

The mathematician is a poet, a creator, rather than an investigator; he is an architect rather than a builder; he is concerned with theories rather than with facts; with the past as much as with the present of his subject, which indeed only becomes intelligible in the light of the past. His conceptions are more precise than those of the philosopher, more tangible than those of the logician, and he is not agitated by the anxieties which haunt the researches of the theologian. He acquires precision in the use of language and a power of tackling difficulties, without falling into the cynicism of the lawyer. His imagination is stirred; while his feelings, unlike those of the man of letters, are not being moved. The symbolised thought which he analyses is growing under his eyes, and he is himself able to mend its anomalies and add to its riches, while it is free from the obscurities of the dead languages and the vulgarities of the new. Like the historian's, his task is to trace the gradual development and influence of particular ideas, but he is not bewildered by conflicting testimony nor distracted by the glamour of circumstance. He may with security look to the past to explain the present, and see in the present the epitome of the past.

The great defect and the great virtue of mathematical studies are the same, the absence of human interest and of scenic effect. What more fitting accessory subject, then, as a corrective for a student of Arts than Mathematics when treated in the way at which I have hinted; and what better associates for a professor of Mathematics than colleagues whose ideals and conceptions have so many points of contact with his own, while they include that one touch which his own lacks? The student of Arts learns to move with freedom in the region of pure thought. The professor finds the colour and life which are needed to compensate him for the ultra-philosophical abstraction of his own subject, while he gains at the same time an ever deeper insight into the manifold workings of the human mind.

W. H. YOUNG

LIVERPOOL

IDEALS OF A SCHOOL FOR COMMERCE[1]

I

QUITE recently a prolonged discussion took place in the press and elsewhere on the subject of Education and Commerce. This discussion has recurred periodically in this country at cometic intervals for the last half century—since Matthew Arnold's report in 1868. The phenomenon presents the same characteristics on each occasion. Some bold-hearted 'innovator' points out that the whole *orbis terrarum* from New York westward to Paris has recognised a certain type of education as better adapted to the needs of Commerce than any other, and that all civilised countries save ours have taken measures—lavish and grandiose measures in most instances—to provide for such education. The 'innovator' then suggests that 'something should be done,' and so rouses the usual swarm of objectors to everything new—objectors who discover an infinity of reasons why nothing whatever should be done. The discussion proceeds apace for quite a long time, long enough to make every one tired of the subject, which is then dropped for another decade. This is not the only matter so dealt with in our land of superlative enlightenment. 'The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small,' and so does the mill of public opinion in England, at least so far as results are concerned. It is a good thing to regard a projected change from every side, but our highly developed instinct for objections leads most frequently in this country to that darkening of counsel and ultimate inaction, which place us in the category of those whom Dante pronounces to be unworthy to enter even his Inferno, those

Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo ;

those who never do anything wrong because they never do anything at all.

The writer was called to England when just such a stirring of the dry bones was in progress. A group of enlightened and far-seeing individuals thought the time had come 'to do something' in the direction indicated above. Some indeed, intoxicated by their own enthusiasm, represented the merchants of Liverpool as metaphorically panting with their tongues

1. Some short paragraphs are reprinted from a paper on *Education & Commerce*, printed in 1911 for the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, and delivered to it in 1910.

out for Higher Commercial Education. He found they greeted the subject with their tongues out indeed, but not precisely in the sense he had understood. The academic world in its attitude to the question, if not quite so specifically rude, was, to say the least, Laodicean. The balance of public opinion was universally in favour of the doctrine that business life calls for no training other than what it may itself afford—that business has no business in the Schools.

To a stranger who had spent long years in lands where the contrary doctrine had given birth to an immense system of education, with eminent teachers, stately buildings, and crowds of students, the necessity of debating the question at all suggested the pundits of Salamanca discussing the rotundity of the earth long after Magellan and Drake had sailed round it. Resentful disappointment was preparing him in such an evil case to shake the dust off his feet and betake himself elsewhere, saying in his heart,

> Child of the World, leave fools to their foolishness,
> Man to his nature, and mules to their mulishness.

And then came Mackay. Not ' rose in hand ' by any means; inspired it is true with great ideals, but armed also with a handful of cold hard facts, of a brickbat solidity, which he proceeded to inflict on the stranger, with what I now see was the kindliest cruelty in the world. These disagreeable truths were all more or less derivatives from the universal belief that the English are God's peculiar people and the fact that England has its own characteristics, differing more from other civilised countries than do any of these amongst themselves. You must, one learned, take your fellow-countrymen as you find them, and not despair of attaining your ideals because the way to the aim in view does not lie in the direction your previous experience led you to assume was the right one.

Professor Mackay, associated from the very first with all great educational movements, gave his support, as one might naturally expect, to those who were striving towards higher education for Commerce and allied callings, and one soon found that whatever might be his views as to the best means of reaching the object aimed at, there was no doubt whatever as to what that object was. It was the establishment of a school of higher studies in Economics, History, Science, and Languages, applied to industry, trade, and finance. The realisation of this object depends of course on a general conviction that such studies,

if treated from a wide and generous point of view, afford a field of true culture and stern intellectual training. It must be further recognised that such studies are fitted to evolve that type of pioneer who should carry to the ends of the earth a previously amassed store of acquirements and qualities, enabling him either to do immense and efficient service for the land that sent him forth, or to stay here at home and apply a trained intellect to economic and mercantile problems of vital importance to the city that gave him birth. It must be seen that no aspect of human history and culture could remain entirely untouched in such a training, and that to be an efficient first-hand investigator into even the local economic and commercial problems of the present time, presupposes the ability to penetrate to sources of information attainable only by a thorough knowledge of subjects that might seem to lie far outside the scope of such a student's efforts.

It may shock the lover of those great and ivy-clad studies that have for centuries reigned supreme, to hear it asserted that even they, too, have to be called on by the student of affairs to explain the daily occurrences of business life and sometimes, it may be, ' to call the things that are not to rebuke the things that are.'

A study of the long and continuous pathway of development from the palaeolithic arrow-head to a banker's overdraft is as rich in insight into principles and as generous in food for the reason and the judgment as the intoxicating chase of the Aryan root through infinite moods and tenses. The future actuary has to unravel knots as difficult, and at least as vital to human life and fate, as are tied by the dexterous symbolic juggling of the transcendental mathematician.

Again, the consideration of such questions as competition, fair and unfair, wages, the contract, common or ' in uberrima fide,' speculation, legitimate and illegitimate,—is not less fraught with lessons in the ethics of human intercourse than are the doings of the Jaels and Siseras of a semi-barbaric horde of antiquity, or the sophistries of a nation which set the seal of exceptional and superlative excellence on one of its citizens by naming him ' the honest man.' Is the anatomy and physiology of the titanic organism by which we move and live and have our being from our morning coffee till our midnight lamp, a less interesting and edifying pursuit than comparing the respective brain-pans of a placental anthropoid and a militant suffragette ?

II

In every stage of real education for Commerce and affairs, the faculties of accurate observation, lucid induction, precision of judgment, and systematic procedure should be and are exercised in the highest degree. Against the judgment passed out of hand on commercial studies by a legion of sneerers, we have the opinion which the greatest European poet since Shakespeare has expressed on one of the most characteristic subjects in the curriculum. ' Book-keeping by double entry,' says Goethe, ' is one of the greatest achievements of the human mind. I am convinced that if you had a suitable insight into it you would grant that many faculties of the mind are fully and powerfully exercised by it.' Of mercantile accounts Steele has written, ' They are so much the measure of everything that is valuable that it is not possible to demonstrate the success of any action or the prudence of any undertaking without them.'

Commercial education is education of a high type, if properly understood and administered.

The *three* degrees of commercial education correspond closely to the three degrees in the business world itself, the degrees represented, say, in a bank by the clerks, the accountant, and the manager ; in an insurance business by the clerks, the secretary, and the underwriter ; in a joint stock industry by the clerks, the manager, the directors ; in short, to the muscles, the nerves, the brain of the trading community. The first stage has for its aim the creation of efficient clerks, swift and accurate correspondents, book-keepers, subsidiary stenographers, and typists—of those with enough knowledge of ordinary office organisation to pass readily from one subordinate post to another. The second stage has for its object the preparatory training of higher class business officials, men expected to work without guidance along a given line of policy,—who are to know the working of the machinery of trade thoroughly, and to get the best possible results out of it, once it is set in motion—the fighting tacticians of the army of Commerce. The highest type of commercial education is designed to meet the requirements of those who will be called upon to decide the main lines on which business is to be conducted—the strategics of trade, and its national and international policy.

Suitability to the idiosyncrasy of the student is one of the conditions precedent of a successful education, and students

of a certain cast of mentality will, it is fair to suppose, reach that goal more easily by following such a course as is here indicated.

The golden fleece of education may be ever one and the same, but many Jasons go in search of it, and each should surely be able to make his voyage in the form of argosy that he is best fitted to navigate.

The process of differentiation and specialisation which prevails in all branches of knowledge has been imposed on the Universities by the vast increase in the fields of learning ; and corresponding to this the groups of subjects for degree courses have increased in number and variety. There is no reason why a movement which has made a school of engineering possible should stop short of the studies included in the commercial curriculum. These form a well defined group of studies which may be as logically and conveniently joined together as those of any faculty. It is true they include subjects which fall within three or more faculties, say arts, law, and science ; but an arts course may, and does include science subjects, and a law course may, and does include arts subjects.

It is objected that these studies do not constitute a course in Commerce ; and that though they may treat of the principles of things lying at the roots of commerce, commerce itself consists in practice and not in principles, and can therefore not be fully studied at a University ; but this holds good of any group of studies which serve as a vocational training.

The new Universities in England have all provided courses for men who intend to devote themselves to business in after life. And they could not well do otherwise. That the enterprises have not been attended with immediate or complete success is due to several facts : (1) Such courses are not actual wage-earning studies like medicine, law, and arts. (2) They are on the whole suited to those alone who have a fairly assured career before them. (3) The sons of well-to-do parents, who are able to prolong their education, generally prefer to go to the older Universities, although no such training is offered them there. The principle still holds good in England that in education what matters is not what you learn but where you learn it.

A last and most important point is the attitude of the business world in the matter of higher commercial education. If business men see the value of such a training, and consent to accord some recognition to those who have undergone it, there

will be plenty of young men and parents willing to make the necessary sacrifice of time and money. They would do so as it is, I am convinced, were it not that not only would they derive no advantage, but they would be almost debarred from entry into commercial life by the tendency of business houses to take none but very young boys as beginners.

There would also doubtless be many sons of wealthier parents, with assured careers, who would be disposed to avail themselves of a University training on these lines, did the older Universities provide it. But of all seats of learning, Liverpool University, planted as it is in the midst of a great commercial community, seems to me well fitted to lead the way, sitting as she does at the gateway of the world and seeing in its concrete form, as no other city can, the mass and majesty and meaning of the commerce which rushes through her arteries with every tide that flows.

> Seeing the winds upon the waves grow tame,
> Take up land sounds upon their purple wings,
> And catching each from other bear her name
> To every angle of their sacred springs.

The unity and universality of Commerce as a fit subject for systematic study should surely be borne in on the Liverpool merchant, who can raise his eyes from the ledger and figures, twin gifts of the mystic East, and watch, through windows threshed by the spindrift of the Western Ocean, the costly merchandise, created by the humming hive behind him, borne away to the coasts of the earth by those who go down to the sea in ships and do his business in great waters.

The University of Liverpool, it is true, has done all that its means admitted of to come in line with other great institutions in this matter ; but it has been left chiefly to the stranger and foreigner to appreciate the opportunities offered. The younger members of the mercantile community for their part avail themselves largely of the means of education provided for them by the city authorities ; but till men of light and leading in the world of affairs become less lukewarm about the question, higher education for Commerce and affairs will not, one must fear, attain an ideal development.

III

I am only stating what are now my own views in the matter, but, if I have not entirely misunderstood him, they are shared and largely improved on by Professor Mackay, and have been upheld by him with far greater knowledge, vigour, and ability than I can pretend to. That his efforts may not so far have attained their full fruition is not due to any fault of his. It is due rather to the inability of the public to understand that the aim of higher education for Commerce is not to enable a man to become 'rich beyond the dreams of avarice,' but to afford to certain types of prospective business men a field of development more suited to many of them than are the courses of study already available, and more potent in enabling such students to fulfil in future years and in a fuller measure their work in the world as citizens, merchants, and men. The day of enlightenment will surely come, and Professor Mackay will assuredly one day see another of his dreams realised, as so many have been before. In the meantime, no one having at heart the promotion of such studies as I have been pleading for can withhold from him a cordial recognition of the high ideals he has set and the yeoman service he has rendered to the cause of their full and final realisation.

JOHN MONTGOMERY

LIVERPOOL

MACKAY AND THE SCHOOL OF RUSSIAN STUDIES

I would like to associate with Mackay's name this short account of the aims and beginnings of the School of Russian Studies, because no move in the shaping of it was taken without his advice, and most of our steps were the direct result of conference with him.

I

The need that Russia should be studied on University lines has long been very evident. Here was a country with about one hundred and eighty-five million inhabitants, and covering about a seventh part of the land of the world. Since the emancipation of the serfs (1861) the long arrears of normal economic development have been subjected to a disjointed but rapid process of effacement, the result of nature's powerful struggle against the still unnatural and artificial conditions of society; but, since the early nineties, this process has gathered such a velocity as to outdo by far what took place in England when first our railways were made. During the same period, the old predominance of English traders in Russia has been gradually exchanged for that of the Germans, owing entirely to their excellent research and equipment, and to our almost complete indifference to these necessities.

Politically, this period has been marked by a bitter hostility between England and Russia, the causes of which challenged and hardly ever received examination. Our information on Russia has been too often taken at second hand from Germany, a country which, since it developed its *rôle* of a central hegemony of Europe, has been strongly interested in our continuing to be ignorant of Russia. Yet, while we were always being told that Russia was our natural enemy, and while our Foreign Office was always finding itself at a deadlock before some misunderstood and apparently insoluble difficulty on that side, our politicians and our public opinion had no better material for judgment than casual newspaper correspondence. Meanwhile, the main interest of the Russian people was concentrated on questions of political reform, which we had almost come to consider as our special field of achievement; what were perhaps the most far-reaching changes of the nineteenth century,—the emancipation of the serfs and the

introduction of a new elective local government in Russia—, though synchronising with the most active period of reform in England, passed almost unnoticed by us; the reforming Emperor was denounced as a dynastic aggressor when he was at last drawn into a national crusade, which we might have been expected to understand by instinct; and his murder, committed by men whose principles would have met but little support in England, was received here almost with approval. The later movement of reform, essentially English in character, because issuing from the practice of local self-government, from new moral conceptions, and from an enthusiasm for constitutional ideals, was for a long time unnoticed, and was later obscured, by sensational magnifications of revolution and crime. Of the two leading schools of political thought in Russia, one recognised its instincts in English Conservatism, and the other found its ideals in English Liberalism; but we remained almost without any real knowledge of either.

There was another consideration which was in the long run even more important. Nearly a thousand years ago Russia had the beginnings of an admirably simple and classic literature; but it was only in the nineteenth century that her peculiar instincts and thought blossomed into a wealth of clear expression in poetry and in prose. There was nothing better in European literature at this period; but the chief importance of the Russian classics is that they for the first time made Europe feel what was to be the contribution of the Russian genius to our common civilisation. This spirit is hardly definable, even by the Russians themselves; and it is only now that Europe is beginning to give herself some confused account of it; but its wholeness and impact are felt at once. It is best incarnated in Dostoyevsky. What it promises to all who can be sensible of it, is an altogether broader and more human atmosphere; an expansion of the heart, the brain taking its inspiration much more fully and fearlessly from the heart; a wider and more corporate view, in which petty selfishness and self-justifications vanish into their nothingness. The Russians call this spirit by an untranslateable term, 'cathedralness.' This will be far the most conquering and beneficent of all possible Russian 'invasions' of Europe; and in this sense Russia will give back to Europe more than she will ever borrow from her. England knew about Nicholas I, but did not know of Pushkin. But Pushkin, after being powerfully affected by the influence of Byron, went back to our English

roots and found his real inspiration in Shakespeare. English literature, indeed, has been for generations the staple of nourishment for intellectual Russians.

More than that, the spirit of Russian thought has always had a peculiar, unseizable affinity with that of England. While the Westernisers gave England almost the first place in their admiration of the West, the Slavophils singled out England as the one country which had a native kinship with the best traditions of Russia. Some day perhaps there will be an anthology of passages showing the contact of English and Russian thought; and it will reveal striking analogies, even to the point of identity in expression. The Russian 'found himself' in England; the Englishman felt peculiarly at home in Russia; more especially in the country, which is far more Russian than the towns. In the towns one might meet the usual European hotch-potch; but in the country one got back to a strange suggestion of England. Most of our visitors to Russia were traders; but they could not fail to feel it: 'Those days sparkle in my memory,' says one; 'it is my second home; we cannot speak of that country without affection.'

And there must be mentioned one other tie, which existed between the two countries long before it was known to us. Is it a mere chance that Orthodoxy, which has lived so long cut off from Europe, and Anglicanism, which hardly knows whether it is Catholic or Protestant, should have, in the all-important matter of doctrine, no other difference than that of the *filioque*? And what does it matter that administration and ceremonies are different? Have we not already the one point of contact which is necessary for friendship between two independent and self-respecting units? And here, too, both England and Europe have much to gain. If Catholicism is Petrine in character and Protestantism Pauline, Orthodoxy is Johannine, and is the great completion of a broad humanity in which the binding force is love.

II

John Mackay, as I have felt in constant and close personal contact, has in his nature all that is needed to hold and know Russia. He is the only person within my knowledge who, without experience of Russia, can talk on level terms with anyone who has that experience. Of course it is the bridge of genius that makes this possible; but his is essentially the Johannine genius, where the head takes its best lessons

from the heart. I have always thought that the value of his opinion on any subject was exactly measured by the degree of his interest in it; and he had only to use second-hand information on Russia in order, without seeing, to know more than those who had seen. For instance he has told me things which were undoubtedly true, but were unknown to me, of people whom he only heard about from me. It was delightful to hear him analysing characters known to him only at second-hand, and his advice as to how to approach them was always original and definite, and nearly always right. In our long night conversations there was a dramatic moment, when, with the words 'Pares, write,' he dictated a telegram to a Russian Minister which proved the saving of a delicate business. Or he would stand at his door in his shirt-sleeves waving a colonel's salute and quoting Byron with application to the Russian Duma. Many an article of our *Review* has been submitted to him. When we found that the finest Russian philosopher, Lopatin, was arriving, by clear and fearless thought, at the proof of the existence of the Deity, his comment was, 'A spirit like that [the Russian] can house in no meaner shrine.'

As I have said, every point in the organisation of our School was first submitted to Mackay. To start with, it was his share in the making of Liverpool University that marked the place out as the right one for such a School. There were men called by his spirit, and sometimes in part formed by it, who saw the mental profit and satisfaction of sharing in one another's interests. Such an atmosphere of brotherly co-operation between experts in the most various subjects was all to the advantage of our venture. We made a School of Russian Studies, because so far Russia had almost been left out of our Universities altogether. We believed that we were doing our best to advance the teaching of the Russian language all over England by trying to make a compact and strong nucleus in one place. But, more than that, we certainly did the best in this way for the study of Russia generally. In a single institution the serious student could acquaint himself with not only the language but the history, the economics and the literature of that country; and we thus got our only chance, by the invitation of specialists, of including other Slavonic languages. An atmosphere was created; a general standard of knowledge could be set up; it was possible to collect a decent library. Mackay was always particularly clear in his guidance of our language teaching. We were not a language school, though

we hoped some day to have the language more creditably taught than it would be easy to do elsewhere. But the language was the most necessary of *Hülfsmitteln* for the study of all other subjects connected with Russia. Our plan, with any serious student, would be to pitch him straight into it. He would begin with almost daily language classes, with our very capable native teacher, who reported him as soon as possible to be ready for further work in his subject; he would then be given Russian books and told to read them. He would be little lectured, at first much tutored. Probably knowing almost nothing, not merely of Russia but of all that European atmosphere in which Russia has to be set, he might need at first many lectures in modern European history. But these lectures would hardly be lectures; at every point the teacher would stop to find out by questioning whether the pupil were losing his time, or whether he had to begin further back. The classes were, then, an examination of the student's reading, with which the teacher was kept in continual contact. Russian was learnt on the road; and with a full staff, including Russians, this acquirement should come of itself to any painstaking and accurate student. It was Mackay who insisted that the oral examination for the Honours Degree should be conducted in Russian. He also counselled us to be entirely dissatisfied with the present low standard of our knowledge of Russian, and we set the severest test to our first student by securing Professor Vinogradov as external examiner; a good 'second' from him meant, both for the student and for the School, much more than any imaginary 'first.'

The plan of the School enabled us to combine in a more or less complete programme all the grades of study, and to co-ordinate them into a consistent scheme. Mackay was always clear that to get a good nucleus of students we must prepare men for definite and intelligent work; and the way to this goal he saw, like others of us, in the strengthening of the British Consular service in Russia. The School, by invitation, sent to the Foreign Office a memorandum on this subject, and after due consideration of the question several improvements have been introduced; but nothing can be final till there are student interpreterships for Russia, as there are for the other less known countries; and the School is so planned as to be able to offer exactly such a programme of study as has been instituted for those countries.

Mackay has always been a first-rate adviser in those little

steps of detail, and in that fitting of needs to men, which is called organisation. He took a delight in these discriminations, and sometimes his most unexpected suggestions have proved the wisest. Of course he was always for going to the top in our selection of helpers; and no one ever had a more hearty admiration for the first class business man with his largeness, insight, and quickness, or a more accurate picture of that kind of business reputation which is obtained by sitting for certain fixed hours in a city office. Our Executive Committee had on it the best men for every side of the work; and, being able men, they did not wish to meet often, and expected serious business when they did. Mackay has been invaluable in suggesting the relations between this Committee and the University. The Committee supplied the financial and administrative initiative, and the University has the academic control. Thus the Committee provides money for posts, or for other purposes which it suggests, and even recommends candidates; but it is the University which creates the posts and appoints to them. If a given expenditure ceases to fulfil its purpose, the Committee, after the term agreed upon with the University, can apply its resources in other ways. Before all things, the Committee provides in the city a nucleus of interest, and makes the School independent of the chances of financial distribution in Faculty and Senate.

There was other organising work which went far outside Liverpool, and on this, though he could take but little part in it, Mackay has been my best adviser in Liverpool. To him were submitted and with him were threshed out all ideas which, however external they might seem to the work of a Chair, were first necessities to the development of the School. Many apparently distant opportunities which would otherwise have escaped me were pointed out to me by Mackay. In the step-by-step work of the Duma visit to England, he was in thought almost my only companion, to use his own expression, 'from the Neva to Buckingham Palace'; he kept me up to the mark as to the detail of the return visit, and he seems to know all my London Committee as well as myself. In the same way he has seldom been mistaken in fixing the value of any of my Russian helpers for the attaining of a given object. We planned together the extension of the School to England by inviting the best scholars on the subject to co-operate under the name of Members of the School. Such Members were invited on the basis of published work or University teaching; and, after

the first invitations, the number was only increased with the consent of two-thirds of the existing Members. Such a body could speak with authority on matters of public interest relating to the study of Russia; it could attempt a regular system of transliteration; it secured to us our chief collaborators for the *Review;* and it was the proper organ for the general direction of any publishing work, including the planning of an Anglo-Russian dictionary. For young English scholars, doing serious work in Russia, Mackay devised our travelling studentships. These students do not necessarily receive material support from the School, but are able to count on any counsels that the School can offer. Meanwhile our London Committee could promote the work with the Government, Parliament, the Press, Chambers of Commerce and any other public bodies; and there was a similar and not too formal organisation of our most authoritative friends in Russia for the discussion of common purposes. In these ways any new suggestion could be beaten into shape by the most suitable advisers and presented in the right way in the proper quarters.

III

The *Russian Review* is the first realisation of all this joint work. It deals with Russian history, politics, economics, and literature. At first most of the writers were politicians, but now it is extending more and more into the learned world. Mr. Homyakov, formerly President of the Duma, backed an invitation to collaborate, which was sent to the best men that could be thought of; and there was only one refusal, on the ground of extreme age. The list of collaborators includes Academicians, Professors, and members of both legislative houses; and every writer is as a rule a special authority on the subject of which he writes. Nearly all the articles are given without remuneration, which is of itself good evidence of the value which Russians in general set upon English friendship. The School of Russian Studies acts as a workshop for translation; and most of the competent translators from the Russian to be found in England have offered their help. In order to employ and remunerate that help, there is now being organised by the London Committee a publication fund, which need not be limited to the work of the *Review*, but may expedite the translation of many works which should be known in England, and may help forward the labours of scholars who have no

direct connection with Liverpool. The *Review* already has a distinguished though small circle of readers in England and abroad, and there have been speeches both in the German Reichstag and in the Prussian Upper House, recommending that something of the same kind should be done in Berlin. Certainly publication work of a high standard is the surest and most lasting way, not only of removing prejudices, but of making real to English readers in something like their proper perspective, the genius, aspirations and difficulties of the Russian people.

None of this work could be adequately done in any other way than by close association with a living University. Our first debt to Mackay is for the life of his own which he has poured into the University of Liverpool; but my obligation to him as colleague and friend is much more detailed, and is continuous; and perhaps this sketch will serve to show what room there is in that large heart and mind for interests which might have seemed distant from him. If Liverpool goes on as it has begun, I think it will be by keeping alive this spirit, so distinctive both of the Russian genius and of Mackay's: 'There is that that scattereth and yet increaseth.'

BERNARD PARES

Liverpool

THE STUDY OF GERMAN IN AN ENGLISH UNIVERSITY

Dear Mackay,

I have been asked to contribute to the *Festschrift* in your honour; and I have great pleasure in acceding to the request. I know that you have the cause of German very much at heart; so I elect to trouble you for a while with my opinions on the matter.

I

It is a deplorable fact, you will agree, that, for many years the study of German in this country has steadily declined. There are signs, however,—if one may believe the reports of educational authorities,—that this decline has, at least, come to a stop; perhaps, indeed, that a definite movement towards recovery has commenced. This improvement—the result of the exertions and experiments of a devoted few—is gratifying. But much more remains to be done. And if the heavy uphill task of establishing this study (as you, I am sure, would wish) is to be accomplished, the work done in German by the Universities must henceforth be more fully recognised.

Germany owns a vital share in modern civilisation; and without a proper attention thereto the development of modern history and philosophy, and of other branches of knowledge, cannot be understood; nor can the German language and literature themselves be properly appreciated. The factors that make up a civilisation cannot be absolutely detached from one another; it is, indeed, ruinous to isolate them. They are closely and intimately correlated. I shall here only discuss the single question, how German is to be taught in an English University, in the light of this correlation; and shall discuss it with reference to a syllabus, devised to meet the needs of Reading University College, when it obtains the charter for which it will soon apply. I shall speak of pass and honours courses together, distinguishing them where necessary.

As to the methods of teaching, there are almost as many as there are teachers. Whatever the method may be, the teacher using it has to make it workable. There is no such thing as *the* method. The aim of the teacher is to impart knowledge; how he does it depends on his own communicative talent as

well as on the receptivity of the individual student. This seems to set up a reckless eclecticism which at its best could only produce erratic results. Surely, the proposed course of German must be eclectic. Rigidity would strangle it. On the other hand, this fact does not preclude the laying down of fundamental principles which have to be observed, and will be observed in the following proposed syllabus. One strict law, however, must reign supreme: keep the interest of the student alive! The student's enthusiasm is of the greatest help in surmounting all the difficulties of the study; without it, the enthusiasm of the teacher will fail too; and the subject, so comprehensive is it, stands in bitter need of both.

The study of German comprehends a vast field; it has to be both practical and theoretical. The practical study aims at the thorough understanding and mastery of the modern form of speech. This study has to be based largely on phonetics, in order to obtain the right pronunciation of foreign sounds, words and sentences. It also must aim at a thorough acquaintance with both the accidence and syntax of grammar. For the latter, especially, an introduction to the psychology of speech seems to be indispensable in order to determine the laws of association and to realise the spirit of the foreign language. Both the physiology and psychology of language form a vital part of the instruction.

The theoretical study of the language must be both philological and literary, the former leading to the understanding of its historical growth—the biology, in fact, of the language; the latter giving a comprehensive idea of the literary development from its earliest stages to modern times,—and in a word, of its artistic achievements.

So, there seem to be three guiding principles in the arrangement of a syllabus for the study of German:—

1. Efficiency in modern German.
2. Acquaintance with the historical development of German literature.
3. Acquaintance with the historical growth of the German language.

The first principle is obvious. Nobody ought to get a degree in a foreign language without mastering it thoroughly. (Therefore, the student ought to be encouraged to spend his summer holidays, especially those after his First University Examination course, in Germany.)

The second principle must be observed, because all periods of literature are linked together, and you cannot understand one of them without knowing that which precedes and that which follows. It is likewise required for the purposes of a 'general culture' degree, and for the indispensable correlation of German with other subjects. Lastly, literature must form the centre of a modern language course. This, necessarily, implies a special emphasis on the chief stages of literary development. In consequence, the two classical periods must, respectively, form the focus of each year's course for the Second University Examination.

The third principle has been questioned in recent times. Yet the best Modern Language Schools of the English Universities fully recognise its importance. Even if a University had no other aim than to train Secondary School teachers, it could not do this sufficiently without some philological training; otherwise it would turn out mere parrot-like speakers. It cannot be denied that philology is of immense help in the practical study of German, and it is likewise most urgently required for the study of literature. The historical study of modern German literature must go back to the age of the Reformation, and beyond this to the Middle Ages, in order to reveal its roots. But these periods are silent for us if we cannot understand their writings, unless we are fully conversant with their language, the vehicle of their thought. It might be open to discussion how far philology, in the special sense of *Sprachwissenschaft*, is a necessary element in the study of literature; but it is indisputable that Old and Middle-High German literature cannot be read by those who do not know these phases of the language.

II

I now sketch a treatment of the three divisions of German study—modern German, German literature, German philology—during a University Course of three years. My aim is to cover the field by courses gradually rising in difficulty. The number of hours allotted to the study of German in each of the three years will be four per week for Pass students. Honours students, after the First University Examination, will have five hours weekly during the two years of their Final course.

1. *Modern German.*

Efficiency in modern German will be attained by consecutive courses during the three years of University study.

But it shall chiefly be the object of the course for the First University Examination to develop this knowledge. In fact, the first year's course may be called a training course in practical German, directed in a liberal spirit with a view to the requirements of the B.A. course. It provides a course in modern German Grammar, one hour a week, one in the practice of translation, composition and essay, one hour a week, and one in reading selected pieces, one hour and a half or two hours a week, throughout the Session.

In the second and third years of study, during the Second University Examination Course, only one hour a week is devoted to instruction in modern German. This relief of the B.A. course is made possible: (1) by the almost exclusive devotion paid to modern German in the preceding year, (2) by giving all lectures and interpretations in German. The written work during the two years of the B.A. course will chiefly comprise essays, but it seems advisable during the first year of the course to include composition together with the essays.

This practical study of German includes the study of German customs and institutions. The various aspects of German life have to be brought to the student's notice. This may well be done during the course of reading in modern German texts, which will have to be selected with a view to a fair catholicity of subject.

2. *German Literature.*

The object of the First University Examination course is merely to rouse an interest in the students for their subject and not to tire them by too much lecturing. Therefore, only half an hour a week will be spent in sketching the outlines of the history of German literature, the other half hour being spent upon texts which are interesting both in matter and in form and are selected mainly from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is to the literature of to-day that the student must find access. Modern literary tendencies will be traced in modern poetry, drama and fiction. Thus the student learns to understand something of what is going on in contemporary Germany; and such a knowledge seems, indeed, essential. Naturally the time of the first University year is

inadequate for this purpose, and will have to be carefully supplemented by private reading throughout the University course.

The full B.A. course for the Second University Examination has, with respect to literature, to be divided into two parts, which correspond to the two years over which the courses stretch, and which group themselves respectively around the two classical periods of German literature.

The *first year* of the B.A. course deals largely with the first classical period. Middle High German must, therefore, form its chief feature. We have already alluded to the historical value of Middle High German literature as a means of ascertaining the foundations of modern literature. But it is also of indisputable aesthetic value in itself. Every true lover of poetry who knows Middle High German will agree that the poets of the Middle Ages, such as Walther von der Vogelweide, produced lyrics which, even in comparison with modern literature, are among the finest Germany possesses, and that an epic like Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* ranks with the highest achievements of world-literature. The literature of this period is dealt with in lectures as well as in reading and interpreting M.H.G. texts. With the first classical period as centre, the course of lectures will cover the field of mediaeval literature from 1050 to 1500, and will connect with it the beginnings of modern German literature which are rooted in it. The course extends up to 1630, the death of Opitz. The texts for interpretation will mainly be taken from the epical and lyrical literature of the classical period, but samples of the writings of Luther and of Hans Sachs will be included.

The time-table will be so arranged that the Middle High German Grammar course, with its necessary complement, the interpretation of texts, will be held once a week throughout the session. The lecturing on Grammar will be restricted as much as possible, in order to keep the interest of the student alive by constant reading. The course of Middle High German and Early Modern German literature will stretch over two terms only, having two hours a week in the Autumn term and during the first half of the Lent term. The gain of such an arrangement will be that the student's mind is solely fixed on Middle High German during the first term, without being diverted to other subjects. For the course of modern German literature will only begin in the middle of the Lent term with two hours a week, and will continue throughout the Summer

term. In this course, the prelude to the second classical period will be lectured on ; this is the epoch from the death of Opitz to the death of Lessing, roughly from 1630 to 1780.

The *second year* can therefore start at once with its main subject : Goethe and Schiller, and the second classical period ; and can proceed with the Romantic movement, and discuss the development of nineteenth century literature up to the foundation of the German Empire, roughly from 1780 to 1880. The course will require one hour a week throughout the session. During the third, the Summer term, an additional hour a week will be given to the reading and interpretation of a special author of the second classical period. Thus the student's mind will always be fixed on this period throughout the whole session.

The scanty Old High German literature will be dealt with by reading and interpreting Old High German texts, with occasional short lectures on topics such as German Mythology, Alliterative Poetry, Paganism and Christianity in Language and Literature, etc. One hour a week in the Lent and Summer terms.

German literature, at an English University, has to be considered from the point of view of German civilisation at large, and not only in its mere aesthetic aspect ; although the quest for the beautiful must always be foremost in the lecturer's mind. The chief appeal of German literature arises not so much from its formal qualities, although as to formal beauty Goethe's lyrics, for instance need not fear comparison with those of any foreign poet. Its chief value lies in its substance. Great periods of literature in Germany always coincide with currents of deep and original thinking ; arid periods like the seventeenth and the early eighteenth century lack the beauty of original literature. The history of German literature is the history of German thought.

The history of literature is decidedly a German plant. Its originator is Herder. There seems to be something mischievous in it, something that tends to lead us away from the actual work of art in order to study sources. However, the history of literature, like all the history of art, is not absolute like the history of science, or political, constitutional, or social history. It has to deal with works of art which, as such, are individual. To put it otherwise, the aesthetic value of a work of art, of a lyrical poem, or an epic, or a drama, is immanent, and reveals itself in its direct effect on the reader or the playgoer, irrespective of its historical affinities. It is isolated. Yet its creation is

the work of an artist who lives in the same atmosphere as other artists who produce similar works. This clearly indicates a historical relationship. Only in so far as the work of art expresses fully and completely the atmosphere of its time, only in so far as it is the embodiment of the *Zeitgeist*, does it tower above similar and contemporary creations. It is a prominent peak in a range of hills. This, again, shows its relative value.

Its material is given by the historical period to which it belongs. Its form is determined by the stage to which technique has attained at this period. None the less, the artist permeates the material with his own beliefs and convictions, gained by his inner life-experiences, and thus transforms the material which lies open to everybody into his individual substance. The form, although technically historical, is determined by the substance. All these various aspects of a work of art have to be considered.

Most difficult of all and yet most essential is the aesthetic valuation. The student must be initiated into artistic appreciation. This first and primary object can, naturally, only be attained approximately. Here we can never forget the poet's word : 'Wenn ihr's nicht fühlt, ihr werdet's nicht erjagen.'

There is but one way by which this exalted ideal can be approached. The teacher must penetrate fully into the poet's personality and his work, viewing it, as it were, from the inside. He must try to feel with the poet, to discard his own mind and to adopt the poet's. This *Einfühlung*, a term coined by Novalis, expresses in a single word the romantic attitude, and has now become the dominating principle in psychological aesthetics. This is a gift which only a selected few possess, and these, again, only for individual poets, for it presupposes a certain congeniality with poetical genius.

The second aim must be to interpret the historical value and position of the work of art. It must be determined how far its conditions in substance and form are factors of the civilisation of its epoch, and what effect it exerted on the following age.

The third aim, finally, must be to find the artist in his work, and to show how far the work of art is his individual property. Thus the work of art is both subject and object ; its aesthetic essence as well as its complex historical existence has to be demonstrated by the lecturer. His threefold aim must be to reveal to the student the beauty of an artistic creation, the *milieu* in which it was created, the personality of its creator :— the aesthetical, the cultural, the biographical point of view.

In an English University the second point needs special stress in the treatment of German literature. In a German University, the work carried on in the departments of history and philosophy, for instance, will naturally centre on the history and philosophy of Germany. In England, the corresponding work will focus the interest on England. The consequence is that in English Universities the teaching of German literature has to be put on a broader basis of political and social history and of philosophy than would be necessary in Germany. It is evident how valuable a close correlation with the work done in the departments of history and philosophy might be.

Secondly, a foreign literature in a University curriculum ought to be dealt with largely from a comparative point of view. The mutual connection between German and foreign literatures, especially English, has to be emphasised. Happily, this is obvious, for the second classical period of German literature, the age of Lessing, Herder, Goethe and Schiller, is unthinkable without the names of Shaftesbury, Milton, Richardson, and Shakespeare. Similarly, the influence of French literature cannot be overlooked. From mediaeval epic and Minnesang down to the most recent literature the current of French influence has never ceased to flow.

Yet it is in connection with this interrelation of various literatures that we have to take exception to the excessive 'hunt for parallels.' Nobody will deny the interest of finding parallels. But they alone tell us nothing. What is wanted is a peep into the poet's workshop. What use did he make of the source, of the 'parallel'? That Richard Wagner, in his operas, uses *Leitmotive* which were known long before him is a commonplace. But he uses them in quite a different way, in his individual art; they become Wagnerian by the way in which he weaves them into his works. It is the individual touch which counts, and to this the student's attention has to be drawn, not to 'the thing in itself.' And what is true as to isolated passages and even as to whole sources, holds good, and in a still greater degree, of foreign influences. Here we see the working of that much used and abused spectre, the 'national spirit.' The Romance races see the Greek tragedians differently from the Germanic nations; and, again, eighteenth century Germany views them differently from nineteenth century Germany. The national spirit constantly changes, and with it its ideals and convictions of art. Goethe expresses a different opinion of Shakespeare in 1771 and in 1813. These

hints suffice to show that foreign influences are not petrified ammonites characteristic of certain geological strata. Their very essence varies; their effect changes in proportion as the national, and within the nation the individual, comprehension changes. Again, it is not so much the foreign fruit which matters as the way of appropriating it. The methods of selection, shaping, and imitation are the main interest in ascertaining foreign influences. Here, too, the cultural and the biographical principles have to be carefully observed. Everywhere we are faced by the fact that literature as much as language is a living organism, and, as such, has an energetic and dynamic nature. The life-force has to be followed up; it rises and sinks, it has its tides with varying ebb and flood, and yet it steadily flows on, absorbing small and great tributaries and yet preserving its fundamental character. It is all a question of proportion. National character may be dimmed by the strength of foreign influx, yet the latter is dependent on the degree of genuineness in the former. It is in connection with these observations that the relative pre-eminence of matter or form will become intelligible. The correlation, therefore, of the literature courses of the English, French, and German departments is extremely important.

There is, however, one more point with reference to correlation, which ought to be strongly emphasised. Literature must not be cut loose from its sister arts: the spirit of mysticism in the Middle Ages expresses itself in Gothic architecture; the humanistic current which underlay the Reformation is as apparent in the graphic art of Dürer as it is in the writings of Luther; the pietism of seventeenth century literature had its parallel in the music of the time; the classicism of the late eighteenth century is to be seen simultaneously in literature and sculpture; corresponding influences may be traced in the literary and pictorial art of the nineteenth century; and recent years show us the identity of an aspiring expressionism both in literature and in painting, nay even in music. But a recital of these coincidences in the evolution of literature and other arts is too natural not to escape the epithet of futility. In unfolding the history of German literature, constant reference has to be made to the other forms of artistic expression in the successive epochs; all the arts have to be linked together in such a way that literature stands out prominently, but is determined in its contours by the background formed through kindred arts.

Reading is singularly favoured in this respect by having both Music and Fine Arts departments. If means could be found to provide courses on the history of music, the history of art and the like subjects, they would certainly serve most useful purposes with respect to correlation.

Such a widely conceived course of studies in German literature can only be useful if it is supported by private reading supplementary to the lectures on the several periods. So for each period, there will be prescribed a selection of authors and texts with which the students have to make themselves acquainted. It is in connection with this scheme that the Essay will be drawn into the course of instruction; for the subjects to be discussed in those essays will be mainly taken from the student's private reading, and the discussion of the essays will endeavour to teach the student to apply the knowledge gained in the lecture course to practical literary criticism.

3. *German Language.*

This aspect of modern German has already been discussed. We are here concerned with syllabuses of philological training.

Some elementary principles as *Umlaut*, *Ablaut*, *Grammatischer Wechsel*, etc., will be discussed in the First University Examination course, in connection with the course of modern German Grammar. The main object of this first year's work with regard to philology can only be to make the student realise that language is a living organism, without attempting to go into details. One principal means of instruction will be the comparison of corresponding English and German forms.

The B.A. course for the Second University Examination will lead up to a knowledge of the historical growth of the German language.

It will start in the *first* year with Middle High German. The knowledge of M.H.G. Grammar will be primarily a practical one, gained from the reading and interpretation of M.H.G. texts. However, certain lectures will be given during the first half of each hour, dealing with such topics as M.H.G. *Schriftsprache*, Foundation of modern German *Schriftsprache*, Differences between M.H.G. and modern German, Verner's Law, etc., the object being not to tire the as yet untrained student through mere lectures, but to verify at once everything told in the lecture through comparison with texts. One hour a week throughout the session.

Thus the student entering the *second* year of his B.A. course has already acquired definite notions about the main features of philology. He is prepared, therefore, to follow a course on Historical German Grammar, which deals with the development of sounds and flexion from the earliest period up to modern times. This course will always be the final and most important stage up to which the B.A. student has to be trained. It covers two hours a week of the Autumn term and one hour a week of the Lent term. Incidentally, it relieves the syllabus from providing a special course in Old High German Grammar, the knowledge of which will be acquired through interpretation of O.H.G. texts during the Lent and Summer terms: one hour a week. The courses on modern German and on German philology afford ample opportunity for the theory and practice of German phonetics; which, indeed, form an essential part of these courses. Another feature is the emphasis laid on the linguistic affinity of English and German.

Schiller has expressed a truth in his aphorism that language is the mirror of national civilisation. It is the teacher's duty to make the student aware of this. A language in its ever-changing character, and further in its steady progress, forms a whole, though a whole that is in motion. This fact constitutes its most interesting feature. But the atoms of this molecular compound have to be carefully studied in order to realise its enormous complexity. The romance of a language can only be felt through what Grimm called a pious devotion to the insignificant.

The *Honours* students take part in the same lectures as the Pass students. The difference will lie in a wider scope of reading, which will be tested by a more minute and searching examination. In addition to this, Honours students have one extra hour a week during the two years of their course, bringing the weekly total up to five hours. This additional hour will be given up to the study of a special author or subject.

In the *first* year, this special subject will be taken in connection with the first classical period of literature, e.g., Wolfram von Eschenbach, Walther von der Vogelweide, *Nibelungenlied*.

In the *second* year, this special subject will be taken in connection with modern literature, with preference given to the second classical period.

Both courses will be coupled with Seminar practice to initiate the student into the elements of scientific research. This aim

is of special importance. All University instruction must lead up to the end of making the student acquainted with the methods of research. He must acquire independence of judgment, acute critical faculty, and full knowledge of the books of reference to which he has to turn when starting on research work. The Pass student will hardly have time to get to this stage of training. Even the Honours student can only begin to realise the difficulties of this, the ultimate object of University education. However, no sound University course can omit to guide the Honours student, at least, through the first steps of this pursuit. The natural gift has to be aroused and stimulated; its full and adequate training it will get in the following

M.A. Course.

I purposely refrain from sketching the M.A. course which is to cover two years after the B.A. degree examination. For this course is to be devoted to specialisation. The graduate student will do a thesis on the results of his original research work, under the guidance of the lecturer. Should he choose German philology as his special subject, he must naturally make himself thoroughly acquainted with primitive Germanic, Gothic, and the various dialects of Old or Middle High German respectively.

Again, literature, as a special subject, requires a detailed study of either one author, like Wolfram von Eschenbach or Goethe; or of one subject, such as the history of the German drama and stage, the history of German comedy, German literature in the nineteenth century, the history of literary criticism, of the German novel or of whatever field be selected. The philological as well as the literary study of the older stages of German language absolutely demands also a training in palaeography, for the student must be able to make use of manuscripts and not only of printed texts. Such courses on palaeography should be provided for students of history and of modern languages alike. It must, however, be borne in mind that the M.A. student ought not to be overburdened with lectures. One or two hours a week ought to be sufficient. Useful work might be done in postgraduate Seminar classes.

And now, in conclusion, my dear Mackay, I need hardly say that I am fully aware of the exalted character of the ideals set before the students in such a course. But you, if anyone, with your noble and lofty conception of what a University

ought to be, will sympathise with me. I am fully convinced that such a course is fitted to turn out competent young English scholars. They would be trained to do graduate research work in the best sense of the term; they should supplement this by a residence in Germany, long enough to enable them to enter fully into the life and spirit which animate the German language and literature.

The scope of such a course is, perhaps, an ideal one. But are not ideals the most powerful means of stimulating the progress which is only to be achieved by ardent and loving labour? Every sincere attempt in this direction, although falling short of attainment, is a definite step towards its realisation.

Let me conclude with the words which a great idealist addressed to the students of a newly-founded University[1]: 'You are about to begin a new year of your work. What we all wish you most heartily at this beginning, is full freedom and that impartiality of mind which, to the abrogation of everything else, plunges purely and completely into science; cheerful courage, gay confidence in yourselves and in the surroundings in which you live.'

This ideal every son of his Alma Mater, whether teacher or student, ought to set before him if University education is to ennoble and enlarge national life. It is the ideal which has guided me in sketching this course; it is the ideal which has governed your life and has made you a potent factor in the creation and advancement of the modern University system.

KARL HOLL

READING

1. J. G. Fichte, *Uber die einzigmögliche Störung der akademischen Freiheit*. An address delivered at the beginning of his rectorate at the University of Berlin, 19th October, 1811.

THE EVOLUTION OF A WESTERN CANADIAN UNIVERSITY

I

The foundation of the Universities of Canada may be attributed to the three sources to which Mr. Bryce traces the origin of the Universities of the United States—private munificence, denominational zeal and State action. All of the older Eastern Canadian Universities originated from private endowment, prompted either by religious zeal, as in Toronto, or by the desire for the encouragement of liberal and scientific education, as in McGill, or by both. More recently the State, represented in Canada by the Province, has accepted the responsibility for higher education, thus overtaking and extending the work of the older foundations of the East, and in the West founding three new Universities during the last decade. The Universities of Alberta (1906), Saskatchewan (1907), and British Columbia (1912) are all three direct creations of their respective provincial governments, which appoint their Presidents and possess a predominating voice on their governing bodies, in some correspondence with the thirty-eight State Universities south of the line.

As in geographical situation, so in its University, the province of Manitoba links up East and West. In attempting to reconcile old Denominational College with new Provincial University, the University of Manitoba is to some extent following the course of the University of Toronto; but its history differs enough from that of its Ontario sister to merit an attention which it can hardly be said as yet to have received—that of being chronicled. As age goes in Western Canada, the University of Manitoba is a mature, not to say old, institution. Eight years before University College opened a new portal to learning in Liverpool, the baby province of Manitoba created a University by the incorporation of three denominational Colleges in Winnipeg and St. Boniface, then containing about ten thousand people. The oldest of the colleges, the Roman Catholic 'St. Boniface,' dated back to the first years of the Red River colony at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Anglican College, 'St. John's,' was founded in 1866, the Presbyterian 'Manitoba' college in 1871. Eleven years after the foundation of the University there came into existence the Methodist 'Wesley' college, rounding off the theological

halo in which the University was born and for a long time existed. Lord Dufferin, speaking in Winnipeg in the year of foundation, remarked on the unique character of a University foundation

> to which all the denominational colleges of the Province are to be affiliated, and whose statutes and degrees are to be regulated and dispensed under the joint auspices of a governing body in which all the churches of the land shall be represented.

Yet, although Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Presbyterian might co-operate for the purpose of granting degrees and might send representatives to a common University Council, the union could hardly be very close. That indeed is suggested by the fact that the then University of London was taken as a model by the founders, and was indeed, at the time, perhaps the only possible model. Union for the conferring of degrees after joint examination in non-controversial subjects was to co-exist with complete independence of management and of teaching.

Thus, whilst a very definite step had been taken, the University was little more than an examining body for the students of four independent and scattered colleges, whose ideals of education differed, and who for a considerable time had little conception of or desire for anything further. But when the Canadian West ' materialised '—too much alas ! in one sense—the impulse for an institution of higher learning inevitably arose from the more utilitarian or professional side. Obviously some modification of the original scheme must come about, so soon as the demand arose for instruction in the physical sciences, in the various branches of Engineering, in Law, and (since Manitoba is primarily a wheat-producing community) in Agriculture, if the University was to be a University in the commonly accepted modern sense of the term. Only so could it remain *the* University of Manitoba, and avoid the mistake, committed in various States of the Union, of allowing the creation of a number of degree-conferring bodies in a community only really able to maintain one such body. The situation had indeed changed, as early as 1882, by the affiliation of a Medical College ; for it was the representatives on the Council of this self-supporting and similarly independent lay college, who urged most insistently the modification of the original scheme. A definite step was taken in the desired direction when, in 1889, after considerable debate and opposition, the University Council decreed that some teaching might be done

in the University itself as distinct from the Colleges. Three years later the University Act was amended and the words 'on the model of the University of London' were struck out. By a provision which reveals the opposition to the proposal, a three-quarters majority of the Council might determine what teaching was to be given in the University.

Yet the University, despite its growth as a conception, was still hardly more than an organisation. True, it had received a grant of 150,000 acres of land from the Dominion government, but owing to various difficulties the lands were not chosen, or the patents granted, until 1898. The spirit which in the case of the modern urban Universities in England has provided University endowments hardly prevailed in so new a community: when men gave, it was to the Colleges, not to an intangible University. The obvious step for the Council to take was to appeal to the authority on whom, under Confederation, the task of making provision for education in the Dominion devolved. This was the Provincial government. That step the Council took in 1892 on the ground of the need for funds for scientific teaching. The Provincial government took the historically familiar attitude, or perhaps rather a corollary of that attitude:—the grant of aid, they said, must be accompanied by representation on the University Council. So eight further members were added to the University Council, seven being appointed by the government, with the Minister of Education in the Province as *ex-officio* member. Presumably it was grinding poverty and the realisation of the need for funds which led the Council to agree that the appointment to any University Chairs should lie with the Provincial government. Fortunately no attempt was made to put into practice such a piece of educational Erastianism, though at the expense of a delay of a decade in the beginnings of teaching in the University proper. The Provincial government, satisfied or exhausted with its efforts for University education, took no steps in the matter, and the clause was repealed in 1900. It was only in that year that the provision of a site at a nominal rent by the Dominion government, and a loan by the Provincial government, made possible the erection of a building. Finally, four years later, after some temporary arrangements, the creation of six University Chairs in Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, Botany, Physiology, and Pathology marked the definite breach with the old system and the beginnings of the present University Faculty.

II

In this foundation of Chairs in the University (as distinct from any of the denominational colleges) the University finally parted with its old conception of a non-teaching University. And, by the appeal of the Council for state aid, and by its acceptance of the natural consequences of that step, it likewise compromised its position as an independent corporation receiving only its Charter from the Provincial government. The history of the University during the last decade—the most sharply controversial period in its history—is woven round the issues raised by those two closely connected steps. The question became how far the University proper should extend its teaching ; and, in particular, should it extend that teaching to Arts subjects, in which the colleges already gave instruction to many others than those intending to enter their respective ministries ? And (a question inseparably bound up with the last) how far should the University become a ' secular,' ' Provincial,' University, dependent on a yearly appropriation or other state aid ?

It was hardly to be expected that all four of the denominational colleges would view with unmixed pleasure, or even with equanimity, a course of University development which would accompany and keep pace with the restriction of their own teaching activity to theological and largely post-graduate work. Just as little was it to be expected that the University Faculty would be satisfied to teach only those Arts subjects in which the Colleges either did not give, or did not care to continue, instruction. True, the Faculty alone, endeavour as it might, could achieve little ; for it had but two representatives on the University Council—and that only since 1906—whilst there was no executive head to the University. These colleges, however, were naturally not united, and the representatives of the Medical College, of Convocation, and of the Provincial government supplied other, and often mutually divergent, views. Certain forces obviously made for the extension of purely University teaching—namely, the economy and increased efficiency of such teaching, the possibility of a wider choice of teachers for a non-denominational institution, the feeling that only by such development could the University hope to maintain its prestige over the rivals springing up in the Western provinces, a growing confidence in the University Faculty and a lessening distrust of a ' secular ' University, and the desire to concentrate more upon the primary functions of the colleges. These and other influences, backed up to a certain, or rather an uncertain extent, by the newer and largely ' immigrant ' public opinion

in the city and province, led to a modification of opinion, and so of policy, in the Council. The visible sign of this change was the foundation in 1909 of Chairs in English Literature, History and Political Economy, followed in the present year by the addition of Chairs in French and German; and the next few years will unquestionably see further creations of Arts as of other chairs.

This development has not come about without considerable controversy, whose ashes are not yet cool enough to stir incautiously. The division of opinion was reflected only too clearly in the three divergent Reports published in 1909 by a Royal Commission of eight members, appointed two years earlier to enquire into the general position of the University, its government and finances, the relations of the affiliated colleges thereto, its teaching and equipment, and the question of a permanent site. Indeed the evidence of divergence of view, apparent from the Reports, as to the best line of University development was almost the only achievement of the Commission; for no action was taken thereupon. And the attempt at a compromise, parallel to that adopted in Toronto in a similar though not identical situation, namely, the creation of a new Arts college in which all undergraduate Arts teaching should be given, produced only a stillborn Bill.

Such, baldly, has been what we may perhaps dignify by calling the constitutional history of the University of Manitoba in the past generation. Without a knowledge of that history it is impossible to appreciate its present curious organisation, and still more impossible to forecast its probable future. The University is to-day made up of six affiliated colleges, four representing different religious denominations, the other two representing Medicine and Pharmacy. It is governed by a Council and a President (since the beginning of the present year). The various colleges have their own almost independent Faculties, and there is also a University Faculty. The Council, presided over by a Chancellor, who is appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, is composed of fifty-nine members representing the constituent parts of the University, the Provincial government, and Convocation (whose sole function is the election of members to the Council). By the University Act the Council has 'the entire management over the concerns affairs and property of the University.' It does not of course exercise all these powers directly, though so far it has delegated them, not to Senate or Faculty, but to Committees of its own, and (now) to the newly appointed President, whose appointment, like that of the members of the University Faculty, lies in its

hands. The Council appoints a Land Board to look after the University endowment of lands, a Finance Committee to care for the finances of the University, and a Board of Studies responsible for purely academic matters such as curricula, examinations, and so forth. The appointment of an executive head to this half-monarchical, half-republican federation, whose history may from one point of view be regarded as exemplifying the inevitable conflict in any federation between centripetal and centrifugal forces—a conflict accentuated by its almost acephalous condition—is too recent for its significance to be more than generally estimated. Very extensive duties and powers have been delegated to the President by the Council, but it is impossible to say, bearing in mind the past history of the University, that the Presidential office, and so the government of the University as distinct from that of the affiliated colleges, will reproduce the familiar American or Canadian type.

The University Faculty, though divided for minor matters into standing committees or sub-faculties—Arts, Science, Engineering, and Medicine,—sits and acts (or rather, considering its as yet limited powers, more commonly recommends) as a whole. It consists of a Professorial Chairman, and the President, and all the Professors, Assistant-Professors, and Lecturers in the University proper. It is hardly a controversial statement to say that its powers and responsibilities in academic affairs, though more than quintupled since its foundation a decade ago, have not as yet increased in anything like proportion to its numbers and status. For example, since it only possesses two members on the University Council, all the sub-faculties cannot be represented directly on the Board of Studies, which is a Committee of the Council :—a grave drawback, since that body is responsible for the conduct of most purely academic matters. Here again, in regard to the future, prediction is impossible.

III

To what extent the form, and, what is of more concern, the spirit of the Faculty, as developed in the Universities of Europe and built into the structure of the modern Universities of England as an essential part of that structure, will ever be realised in this or in other parts of the New World, is difficult to say. One is inclined to doubt its appearance in the near future. Yet some development there will be as increase in numbers produces greater complexity. The present standing committees of sub-faculties may obviously be the nuclei of

future Faculties of Arts, Science, Engineering, and Medicine, and the imminent creation of Law Chairs may add another to the number. There exists already the shadow of a Senate in the informal and irregular meetings of the 'full' Professors, held as occasion arises. In the past, attention has been concentrated on the broader if not more important issues of University government, and the next decade will see the shaping of the somewhat amorphous creation of the past decade. There is one factor worthy of mention which may affect that process. Whilst there are as yet no graduates of the University of Manitoba on the staff, there are probably few University teaching bodies which include such a wide range of University undergraduate, postgraduate or teaching experience. With Canadian, American, English old and new, Scottish, German, and French Universities represented on it, the Faculty accumulates the experience of almost as many Universities as there are members :—a rich heritage not lightly to be forgotten or lost.

The six colleges affiliated to the University were for a short time seven; for, from its foundation in 1907 to 1912, an Agricultural College remained part of the University on the same basis as the other constituent colleges. Now, however, it is completely independent and confers its own degrees. The remaining six colleges are scattered about the city of Winnipeg; indeed one, the Roman Catholic college, is situate across the Red River in the French-Canadian and Roman Catholic city of St. Boniface. Like the other denominational colleges it is largely residential; but, as one would expect, its affiliation is more formal. It provides the whole of its teaching itself, and French takes the place of English, so that it merely presents students for University examination; and, save for scientific subjects, it provides its own examiners. The other denominational colleges, whilst maintaining their power—at least so far as the University is concerned—to manage their own affairs, and granting their own degrees in Theology, co-operate in varying proportion for undergraduate Arts teaching and examination. There is no logical line of division in Arts teaching between the University proper and these colleges. Some subjects—such as Philosophy, Classics, and Ancient History—are taught solely in the different colleges; Political Economy and History (for the two last years of the University course) solely in the University. English, French, and German are as yet taught only in the colleges during the first two years; but in both colleges and University during the last two years. College students are free to choose between college and University instruction. The complete union, which has just

been consummated, of the Methodist and Presbyterian colleges, producing what is as yet, for want of a new name, known as the 'United' college, has materially altered the situation. It has eliminated the competition between those two colleges and has made the joint college numerically and financially very strong. Both of these colleges possess sites, which, through the very rapid rise in the value of urban property in the last decade, are of great value; a factor of some importance for the future relations of University and colleges. The relation of the Medical and Pharmacy colleges to the University is simpler: Physiology alone is taught in the University, all the rest of the Medical curriculum in the college. There is as yet no instruction in the University in specifically Pharmaceutical subjects.

When we regard the University from any other point of view than as an institution whose primary aim is efficiency of teaching, the value of the college as a corporate body, a residential unit, is incalculable, and needs no urging. The relation of the colleges to each other and as constituent parts of the University is bound up with another question which, like most of those already referred to, is now in process of settlement. After discussion, controversy, and change, a recital of which would require more space than the whole of this paper, the offer of the Provincial government of a large site on the Red River has been accepted by the University Council. Given, what may perhaps be assumed, financial support from the Provincial treasury, and given, what may now be hoped for, the co-operation of the colleges, the time may not be so long distant ere the dreams of the visionary come true. Then the traveller up the Red River, following in canoe or on snowshoe the trail of the Indians of but three generations ago, when Winnipeg and Manitoba were not, may see on its banks a University fitly compounded of all branches of sound learning, and with a circlet of colleges responsible, each according to its own view, for the teaching of true religion.

This sketch of a history and a situation, so different from anything in the past or present experiences of the Universities of Great Britain, may perhaps yet be of interest enough to form a tribute to Professor Mackay, from one who has had the good fortune to study under him in the University whose form and spirit he has done so much to create and foster.

RALPH FLENLEY

WINNIPEG

BIRMINGHAM UNIVERSITY AND MACKAY

I HAVE much pleasure in writing a brief note about the part which Professor Mackay played in connexion with the constitution of the University of Birmingham, and of reviving memories of years which were among the most interesting and strenuous of my own life. I could write at great length on this topic: for I was in close contact with my old friend during the greater part of the time when the movement for establishing a University in Birmingham was reaching its culminating point. But I must put myself under some restraint.

It was, I think, in the year 1897 that I first communicated with Mackay on constitutional questions. His address[1] to the Senate and Faculty of Arts in University College, Liverpool, on the relations and functions of Senate and Faculty in the modern Universities of France and England, was published in that year, and it aroused my interest and sympathy. This was not, however, the earliest date of Mackay's interest in Birmingham. Some ten years before he had visited me, and had met at my house some of the men who were then interested in developing Mason College as an institution for the training of teachers: Sir George Kenrick (then Mr. G. H. Kenrick), the Rev. E. F. M. MacCarthy, and the late Rev. Dr. Crosskey were present. But it was not till the next decade that a 'Midland University,' as we called it, became a burning question. In the early nineties that question assumed a modest form. It was suggested, as practically the only means of escape from the tyranny of an external examination for degrees, that Birmingham should apply for admission to the Victoria University. But gradually our destinies became clearer to us. The whole system of the 'Federal University' was subjected to scrutiny and criticism; and it was felt that Birmingham might do something better than merge itself in a group of colleges whose bond of connexion was nothing more than a system of common examinations and degrees. The ideal of a Teaching University, similar to those of Germany and indeed of most European countries, came into view; and it was seen that Mason College, which had been started (in 1880) as a

1. See Appendix III.

college for the teaching of the practical applications of Science, but had soon after been developed (albeit meagrely) on its Arts side, might blossom into the first University of a new type in this country. In Scotland 'Urban Universities', to use an expression which then became current, already existed. This idea had the warm support of the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain; a 'Midland University' seemed to him a less promising idea than that of a 'University of Birmingham', which he felt sure would have at its back the cordial co-operation of the Midland Counties.

But there were still rocks ahead. I do not refer to the question of getting money for the scheme. That was Mr. Chamberlain's business. What I have in mind is the danger that a college like Mason College might develop into a mere 'glorified technical school'—with poor development on its Arts side and destitute of those privileges of academic self-government which are the glory of the European university. It was in this connexion that Mackay's advice was of such special service to us. We already had in Mason College the germs of a Senate and Faculties; but how to develop them was a problem which involved great difficulties. A small knot of Professors took the matter in hand, and I was fortunate in being able to call Mackay into our counsels. His wide knowledge of the conditions in other Universities and his enthusiasm for the cause were a constant source of enlightenment and stimulus to us. Many a night have I burned the midnight oil in his company, both in Birmingham and in Liverpool, talking over the great problem in all its bearings. He spared neither time nor labour. No sacrifice seemed too great when the magnitude of the stake was remembered. Did we exaggerate the importance of the business on which we were engaged? Those who have followed the history of the University movement in this country during the twentieth century will hardly say so. What we felt was that we were assisting at the birth of a new type of University in England, and that to that type of University belonged the future. Could any efforts be too great which were devoted to making the first of these new Universities as perfect, or as little imperfect, as possible? And to us the character of the institution was of more vital importance than its mere existence. Mackay saw clearly in his mind's eye 'the long line of kings' to follow: if Birmingham secured its City University, the Victoria University would be sure to break up; and what was done in Birmingham would be a precedent in

Manchester, in Liverpool, and in Leeds. Yet he would judge very much amiss who inferred that Mackay was actuated by any merely local interest. To him 'the University itself,' as Plato would have said, was something greater than the University of Liverpool or any particular University: to be true to the 'idea of the University' was to be true to himself.

The debt of Birmingham to Mackay can never be repaid; it is for others to speak of the debt of other places. But he needs no repayment. For he has his reward. He has seen the idea for which he fought triumphant all along the line, and he knows that in that triumph he played an effective and a generous part.

E. A. SONNENSCHEIN

Birmingham

A NOCTURNE

I

I CAN remember vividly, as clearly as it were yesterday, my first meeting with Mackay.

A Sunday in June, after midnight, fifteen or more years ago, at Lime Street Station. It was drenching wet and inconsequently Sabbatarian.

I had come from London in a dining car full of Commercial Travellers. They had exuded for four hours a confident understanding of the real world and a beefy readiness for the exploits of the morrow.

I had been told of Mackay and pictured him already; a Highlander—standing firmly in the dream-world of unrealities. A warrior. An historian who looked back through the idle busy-ness of insistent industry to the ordered beliefs of the past, and forward through the littleness and turmoil of the present into the large suavity of an organised future.

And there he was, square-set and buoyant. A loose Inverness cape flopped wet in the dingy wind and sweetened the air with the reek of peat from far-off empty moorlands. A square hand gripped mine. I was glad I wore no ring. Individual, warm; with a greeting as for a man and a brother; radiating a personality that subdued the dismal desert of a place into human territory.

In the grand manner, but largely as a concession to my Cockney weakness, he waved me to a mouldy cab. As we creaked out into the town, a long-lined building, serene, rose out of the darkness of the night, musical amid the screaming tramcars, the blatant lights, the tortured sky-line of the streets. An encouragement. Here in this city, erupted in the age of steam, it is known that the measure of human progress is not merely arithmetical, that it cannot be told in terms of bales of cotton, tons of shipping or miles of railway.

Through the drizzling darkness we rattled and bumped over slimy setts; but a resonant voice went on, conveying an understanding welcome, heedless of such trivial distractions.

Arrived at his house, with its road front dark and empty, we went through to a large room shelved high with books. The floor space reduced to passages between heaps of more books; a long table stacked with yet more books. Somehow, for the most part, they wore a rather deserted air! A window looked out over a tumble of roofs, with here and there a larger public building, down to where an open space, lined with lights, proclaimed the Mersey. There, so my host insisted

with some asperity, ran seven miles of docks and shipping. A port lying open, wide-eyed, alert to all the world; in daily touch with every race of man.

We sat down. There were no soft chairs—only wooden ones—not uncomfortable—of a pattern a little self-conscious; the jetsam of an interest in a School of Art.

A table by the fire, lit by a gas-jet from the wall, the only light in the room, carried food. I supped. Mackay neither ate nor drank but filled a long-stemmed pipe and talked. It was late when he began. Every minute or so a match spurted flame, a puff or two of smoke followed; and he talked. The half-burnt matches littered the floor. Every hour or so the pipe was knocked against the bars of the grate and filled again with the unconscious gravity of a red Indian.

Through the night, as we talked, the lights of endless streets twinkled before our eyes, stretching right and left out of the limits of sight. The occasional rumble of a train told of multitudes that lay beyond; while the syren of a steamship spoke at intervals of lands beyond the horizon of the seas.

The fire burned low, a dim greyness outlined the uncurtained windows, and still the talk rolled on. The rising sun lit the mountains of Wales, the gas showed pale. The street lamps went out. A hazy daylight filled the room. Every hour or so I munched some bread, but Mackay made no sign that he noticed. Smoke curled from the chimneys below us. Footsteps grew in volume in the streets without. No sound of life in the house, only our talk. About eight, when the day was warmed, we went out to breakfast. Then we walked down to the landing stage on the river. The ferry boats emptied their swarms. From end to end of the long stage we tramped for hours, and as we went we talked.

II

Through the hours which had passed uncounted the business of a University in a great city had been unfolded—how it stands for the spirit in a world of getting and spending. The diffusion of this spirit through its sphere of influence, and its reach, in this city above others, to peoples far afield.

How to weld the old spirit with the new, that was the problem. How unite humane learning with an appreciation of Art and with that frank acceptance of the world of sense which is the mind of Science? To keep the old and enliven it with the method of the new. To provide fresh fields for both. To inform the arrogance of the new by an understanding of the old. To urge the significance of the theory of knowing on those who

profess to know, and the value of knowledge upon those who undertake to do. To unify the whole with the practice of the presence of God!

Such was the citadel of his thought; but he rambled by innumerable byeways through the surrounding fields. The government of the Institution of his dreams? The need for keeping academic prerogative unimpaired, though joined with lay control of finance. The potentiality of that fusion of experiences! These English, what a strange people! Having few convictions, they delight in compromise. Hence their success as governors; for the governed may believe what they will, so that they respect each other's liberty and property! Thus their genius for politics. But how will that work with us, compact of inevitable convictions? And so past many interests of the moment. A school of classics enlarged by practical archaeology. A school of language with a common denominator in the analysis of sounds. A school of social science informing philanthropy. A school of architecture associated with the arts. A school of medicine reaching out to the diseases of untamed lands; and thus a wider field for commerce. A school of commerce based on studies which interpret future activities. A school of education dependent on psychology. In every school the application of pure science to sure action. Trades developed into professions by exact understanding. Always research, training for the professions, the diffusion of knowledge, as the co-efficients in a living unity. No limit to the task. The visible and the invisible Universe in fee. The Club, the Monastery of our time, the preserver and begetter of this ideal.

That talk, the expression of half-a-life-time's devotion to a dream, remains to this day an undimmed memory. Half a generation has lived its life since then. For nearly thirty years he has lived and worked for the end set out that night. Experience has not changed his goal, it has but filled in details. Failure has not affected its desirability. Success has only made it the more easily credible.

Meanwhile in the University of the moment he has lived in noisy, shapeless rooms, hygienically tiled. Set on a hill, flanked by slaughter-houses, supported by the workhouse, edged by a gaping railway tunnel, surrounded by mean streets. No haunts of ancient peace for sanctuary, no groves for academic calm. Only the belching roar of trains for organ-music, with the savour of fried fish for incense at the altar of his prayers!

NORMAN WYLD

LIVERPOOL

HISTORICAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL, LEGAL

THE PROGRESS OF HITTITE STUDIES

I

During the ten years that have elapsed since Mackay introduced me to a special aspect of the Hittite problem a notable advance has been made in our knowledge of Hittite history and archaeology. This decade may indeed be regarded as a second stage, during which some security of historical basis has been found to support in general the brilliant hypothesis, advanced by Sayce as far back as 1870, of a people lost to memory though once great.

Following this enunciation of the theorem there had ensued the inevitable reaction of criticism, which hazardous generalisations like the work of De Cara had only tended to accentuate; so that ten years ago the word Hittite was still written between inverted commas, while the qualified expression 'the so-called Hittites' was still *de rigueur* among the circles of polite scholarship. It was at this time that Newberry and I, in working through the materials of the Hyksos period in Egypt, noticed certain traces of foreign influences in art, which seemed to us only to be explained by Hittite contact, whether direct or through the medium of a people of Semitic race. The suggestion rather startled us, for it must be remembered that the Hittites had as yet no place in historical text-books, and we found the materials for a fuller investigation of the idea scattered, unstudied and unarranged. We referred to Mackay. He grasped the point at once; and after an interval during which his eyes roamed in characteristic fashion among things unseen, he unfolded to us the idea which had leapt to his mind, that possibly the Asiatic element in Etruscan culture might be explained by a Hittite influence on the Lydian coasts of Asia Minor. In doing so Mackay opened out before me the full width and depth of the field of study which remains the chief interest of my life. We pursued the enquiry as far

as time and circumstance permitted; but it soon became evident that without direct evidence, and materials more scientifically arranged, it would be impossible to establish our conclusion.

II

Now all is changed: the spade has been put to the soil and the pen has not been idle. Thanks to Winckler's work on the tablets found during his excavations at Boghaz-Keui in Asia Minor, we know something of the range in time and territory of the empire which the Hittites established under Subbiluliuma in the fourteenth century B.C. Thereafter, for nearly two hundred years they were masters of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Their ambassadors were received at the courts of Babylon and of Thebes: they were one of the three recognised Great Powers of the Near East, and they played a dominant *rôle* in the international politics of those days. As affecting the Etruscan question, we know that for a time the western parts of Asia Minor were embraced within the Hittite dominion, and so became impregnated with the culture which the Hittites made their own. The monuments of Sipylus and Kara-Bel may be adduced as tangible witnesses of this influence. As touching on the Hyksos question, which belongs to an earlier age, we find the frontier between the Hittite and Egyptian empires in possession of the Amorites, a people now recognised as of Semitic race. We find treaties of alliance established and ratified between Hittite and Amorite upon the basis of former ones; and the two are found fighting side by side in the long struggle with Egypt for the control of Syria. These events are subsequent to the Hyksos period, but they provide an illustration of a historical situation which may have occurred before. This supposition is not established; but it has become historically admissible by the interpretation of two ancient records. The one is Babylonian, from which King has shown that the Hittites were already an organised power at the commencement of the second millenium B.C., strong enough indeed to overturn the established dynasty of Babylon. The other record has been longer known: it is an Egyptian inscription of the same age (in the Louvre), which less prejudiced opinion now more generally recognises as containing an allusion to the Hittites, who were thus familiar to the Egyptians before the Hyksos period, if not, indeed, already near their Syrian frontier. The

Biblical account consistently supports this view; and the surmise gathers strength from a general consideration of the course of history in Western Asia throughout these times, which recent investigations have considerably illuminated.

The literary records of the Hittite kings of Boghaz-Keui, of which Winckler gave to the world a short account, are full of interest. Some of them form the counterparts to letters found at Tell-el-Amarna in Egypt, supplementing with living details what was already known of the international relations of those times. Others disclose the tripartite negotiations with the Amorite chieftain, revealing the latter in the difficult position of a buffer between two jealous and contentious powers, and driven accordingly to exercise astute diplomacy and craft to ward off trouble that menaced on either hand. Others are concerned with internal affairs of the Hittite states: these describe to us the system by which the confederated states were bound together under the Great King, and are naturally full of details of local history and development. Unhappily only a small proportion of these documents is readable, and only a few examples have been made known. But even so, several new pages of Hittite history have been written, and a new point of view has been gained from which to gauge the full significance of the Egyptian and the later Assyrian records of Hittite doings.

At Boghaz-Keui also, Puchstein made a thorough study of the features of Hittite architecture which were brought to light by the excavations. These monuments belong for the most part to the later Hittite Kingdom of the tenth century B.C. and after; but the results of his investigation have a special usefulness in that we are now able to compare the art of the Hittites proper in their northern capital with the more or less contemporary works in Hittite sites of Syria.

Before passing to these we would make reference to the untimely death of these two great men, Winckler and Puchstein, the devotion of whose lives to their respective studies has permanently enriched knowledge and provided materials for posterity. Winckler's work on the cuneiform Hittite texts had hardly passed a preliminary glance. Puchstein, indeed, had issued a fuller account of the architectural remains, but he was in full pride of life when we saw him at Boghaz-Keui; and we would offer to our German colleagues our sincere sympathy for the loss which they and the world of scholars have sustained.

III

The volume of architectural results, which Puchstein prepared shortly before his death, provided a much needed basis for the study and interpretation of the results of excavations made in the north of Syria, where two Hittite sites have been explored. One of these was at Senjerli, the other at Sakje-Geuzi, contiguous principalities in the broad valley of the Kara Su, between the Kurd-Dagh and the Amanus. The former site was occupied in post-Hittite times by the Assyrian monarch Essarhaddon, previous to his attempt on Egypt; and the Berlin expedition under Dr. Von Luschan was rewarded by rich finds of sculptures of both periods. The site of Sakje-Geuzi remained less mixed with later remains: it was an expedition of the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology that in this case undertook the work, and in the course of two seasons we were able to lay bare a complete palace of late Syro-Hittite style, and to test the stratification of several mounds. The results of our examination seem to indicate continuity of occupation and of development from a neolithic stage down to the ninth century B.C., when the palace was erected.

The more recent excavations at Carchemish, however, which the British Museum have entrusted to the able direction of Mr. Hogarth, seem likely to throw more light on the problem of Hittite origins, and of the culture which preceded that of the Hittites in the north of Syria. Here undoubtedly was the great stronghold and the centre of Hittite life in Syria from the beginning. It survived apparently the capital at Boghaz-Keui, and did not finally succumb to Assyria before 718 B.C. Placed as it was upon the Assyrian frontier, and subject for some time to the Assyrian power, it is more likely to provide that much wanted bilingual inscription which alone can give a sure foundation to any interpretation of the Hittite script. Already several long inscriptions in Hittite hieroglyphs and numerous works of Hittite art have been unearthed, including many examples of the later Assyro-Hittite style. Even beyond the Euphrates the Hittites seem to have left their traces, as might indeed be expected from our new knowledge of their empire. This result appears from the researches of Von Oppenheim at Tell Halaf, where buildings, sculptures, and works of art are said to have been recovered, of which students of the problem are impatiently awaiting an account.

But it is not only the spade that has laid bare its contributions.

Dr. Messerschmidt, up to the time of his lamented death, continued his able and systematic editing of the Hittite hieroglyphic texts,—a work of permanent usefulness which has greatly facilitated the possibilities of decipherment. Professor Sayce has continued his far-seeing study of the script and language, and, notwithstanding the paucity of materials, has established the renderings of a number of proper names and titles, and the general tenor of some inscriptions, beyond reasonable doubt. Sir William Ramsay also, in the course of his devoted researches in Western Asia Minor, has continually provided new materials for thought and study, and has given scholars an insight into the historical tendencies of the land, which cannot be neglected by anyone applying himself seriously to Hittite studies.

This is by no means the sum of all the contributions to the Hittite question during the past decade, but it will suffice to show that, thanks to this preliminary labour of digging up the soil, the ground is now much better prepared for developing the germs of thought that sprang from Mackay's inspiring mind ten years ago. And, now that he has the prospect of greater leisure than heretofore, let us hope that he will derive infinite pleasure from the cultivation of this fascinating theme, that from time to time he will produce something to arouse the world, and that he will not withhold the friendly hint and nod which inspire and cheer others so greatly on the way.

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HERODOTUS THE TRAGEDIAN

The dawn of History has its proper date among the birthdays of the Arts. Klio, we must always remember, was one of the youngest of the Muses. Only Painting, and perhaps Music, arrive later.[1] Three elder sisters of History, on the other hand, were already adult when Klio came of age. Epic, enshrined perhaps already, or encoffined, in a standard text, had little to learn from the customs, or the morals, of Periclean Athens. It was exchanging the Homeric Age for the Homeric Question, as Herodotus and Thucydides were asking it. Tragedy, through a disastrous censorship which could not or dared not foresee the Wooden Walls, had been warned off half of her field, and was devoting to the splendid exegesis of Old Testament subjects—the Tale of Thebes, Pelasgian Argos, and the 'Paradise Lost' of the *Prometheus*—the gift which Phrynichus had offered to the new age; which Aeschylus must squander on the safe 'mafficking' of the *Persae*. With the field thus left open, by Epic defunct and Tragedy seduced, for reasonable treatment of the doings of Man, what hindered History, in the fifth century, from making it at once her own? The answer, if we can find one, will show us, I think, something of the peculiarities which set History, considered as a Science, in a place apart among the Sciences; and among the Arts, too, give it a character so remote from either Rhetoric or Tragedy. The cynic, truly, if he be also an Aristotelian, will find Comedy not so easy to disentangle from it; for History, like winter and the *Alcestis*, has at all events its 'happy ending.'

The first function of History is to find out and record *what happened;* and on this ground, History has nothing out of common with any other branch of scientific learning: Klio is of the same breed as Urania herself. Yet not only Astronomy, but many other kinds of Science, were fairly under way, before Drama had embarked her crew. This was not simply because Ionia could draw, as in astronomy, upon the record and commentary of many generations in the East. Egypt and Babylonia had neither geology nor sciences of life; Miletus, if we may judge from fragments of early observation, had both, and elements of anthropology besides, at least as early as the

1. Printing, the tenth,—or should I say Apollo Musagetes himself?—though venerable already was temporarily exhausted in perpetrating the Disc of Phaestos.

Ionic Revolt. On these lines at all events, it needed no Socrates to bring learning down from the clouds.

And it was not only so for the matter of these sciences. Wilamowitz[1] has told us how admirably Ionian science created for its writings a literary form which only modern France, and the best English work—Tyndall, Huxley, perhaps Alfred Russell Wallace—have approached. The greater of the Hippocratic writings—and these, it should be noted, are also by agreement the earlier—are models for us still of unaffected speech, uniquely rich in vernacular terminology, unsurpassed for lucid exposition, for orderly sequence of material. With examples like these of scientific literature, how does it happen that Herodotus is, at first sight, so disorderly; Thucydides, so oracularly hard?

It is also too commonly assumed in comparing the merits of these two pioneers, that both, or at all events one of them—and historians differ acutely as to *which*—must be held to be in some special way the 'Father of History,' standing at the head of an apostolic succession of historical practice. Whereas in truth neither, if his genius had remained the same, but his opportunity had been of the age of Alexander, or Elizabeth, could conceivably have ranked for us as an *ordinary* historian at all. Both alike have survived, not because they were typical of the rank and file, but because they were recognised as exceptional. It was impossible to class them under any accepted heading; it was hopeless to try to supersede them, as Hellanicus superseded old Attic Chronicle, or Diodorus superseded Ephorus. They resisted analysis, and defied imitation; so the critics canonised them, more as literature than as history, in ages which, in spite of Thucydides' warning, had ceased altogether to distinguish history from rhetoric.[2]

Up to the point where publication is imminent, there is not really very much difference between the working of an ancient and of a modern author, who is also a public teacher in his Faculty. The materials accumulate as time goes on, and a thousand chances conspire to determine where each fresh fact or thought shall be noted most conveniently; on

1. In his review of Greek literature for Hinneberg's *Culture of the Present*.

2. How small, moreover, even the 'most notable of wars' had become in the Augustan Age, we see perhaps most vividly in Strabo's account of the island of Delos. Here, indeed, we are looking at ἔργα μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά, but through the wrong end of the telescope. And the reasoned judgments of contemporary literature—for example, the letter of Dionysius (of Halicarnassus) on the three principal historians—displays a similar aloofness and want of appreciation.

the margin; at the close of a paragraph; on a fresh page, with addition of a cross-reference; or quite incoherently, at the point where the paper lies open, and there is something in the sense to guide the eye to the new matter. The trouble only comes, as anyone who has ever written a book knows well, when you begin to present your gathered store in a form to appeal to other eyes than to your own; and many a good book has been deformed and spoiled, by the fatal ease with which notes take root in the contexts in which you are yourself accustomed to look for them. Everything, in such matters, depends first on the orderliness and comprehensiveness of the original outlay; and secondly on the strength of mind of the writer himself, to uproot and transplant these literary weeds and seedlings into their rightful plot in his garden.

It is at this point that we mark a fundamental difference of workmanship between Herodotus and Thucydides, quite as characteristic of the minds of the two men as it is appropriate to the subjects of their work.

Thucydides, watching a war, in which he knows the two sides to be well-matched, and the struggle to be manifold, plans his notebook (so to speak) as a ledger of many concurrent accounts, at Plataea, in Corcyra, in the West, and so forth. By this device, simple inspection of all the accounts, and comparison of gains and losses in each, enables him to strike a balance sheet for the year, and award the advantage to Athens or to Sparta, at the close of each round of the match.[1] The reckoning by winter and summer, though at first sight it is a retrogression from the subject-order adopted by Herodotus, and a reversion to the methods of sixth century chroniclers, is justified by the nature of the theme, no less than by the standpoint of the writer, who *ex hypothesi* had no means of knowing whether the war now begun was to be long or short, or whether the decisive action was to be fought in Attica, in Peloponnese, in Sicily or Thrace, or on the high seas.

Herodotus, though earlier in date, was attempting a far larger and far more complicated task. It was also more original, unprecedented, exploratory. The justification for this estimate is twofold. Our knowledge of his predecessors and contemporaries—fragmentary and elementary as it is—is sufficient to show that all they were aiming at was a formless

1. We have only to turn to Polybius to see how athletics abetted rhetoric to inveigle a historian who wanted to be read. For as a football-critique stands to *play*, so does formal history to ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θαυμαστά.

chronicle of materials-for-history, uncritical, unselected, unconnected except by the loose tie of annual or regnal sequence, uncorrelated except by ascription to more or less historic individuals. And the passing utterances of Herodotus himself, on questions of method, are as eloquent of what others had left undone, as of what he aspired to do. There was little point in describing his own methods of work so fully, and so often as he does, if he was not conscious that, in the matters which he notes, he thought that he was innovating,—improving on current practice.

The debt of Herodotus to Homer is a commonplace of literary history: it is the debt of us all to an Authorised Version. We have lately had brought to our notice, more familiarly and in detail, the close similarity of the methods by which Homer and the Icelandic Saga do what Aristotle used to describe as 'imitating things.' It would seem indeed that here we might almost reverse the criterion by which he distinguishes between poetry and history.[1] 'The poet and the historian differ not by writing in verse or in prose'; but because 'it is not the function of the poet to relate what has happened, but what may happen'—what is possible according to the law of probability or necessity. If we could be sure that the *Story of Burnt Njal* had never happened in fact, it looks as if that tale might count as Epic, in spite of its prose diction. On the other hand, if the Trojan War, and its accessory legends, were proved by new evidence to be historical, would Homer therefore cease to be poetry, and take rank with Herodotus on the other side of the line? For it is Herodotus, expressly, in that passage of the *Poetics*, who is the other member of the comparison. 'The work of Herodotus might be put into verse, and it would still be a species of history, with metre, no less than without it.' Would it, by the way, be at all equally true that the work of Homer 'might be put into prose, and would still be a species of Epic, without metre, no less than with it'? Our verdict on *Burnt Njal* may guide (and need not fetter) our judgment on this point. The distinction, in fact, is something less than real: for there is much in Herodotus (as indeed there is something in Homer), which it is perilous to describe as 'possible according to the law of probability or necessity,' and there is a good deal in Homer which would hardly be poetry apart from the metre. Aristotle, in fact, does not seem to have known his Herodotus very well;

1. *Poetics*, IX, 2.

or to have estimated history so highly as either the fifth century or the twentieth does.

The debt of Herodotus to Tragedy has been less clearly defined, either in ancient criticism or latterly; and it is perhaps the more proper to study it, now that Mr. Cornford has gone so far, and so boldly, in the Tragic interpretation of Thucydides.

The generation which fought the Persian Wars did not indeed write history; but it came very near success in creating Historical Drama. It came very near success also in creating a Drama of Science; the *Prometheus Vinctus*, and many fragments of its wonderful sequel, are Homeric Hymns 'To Necessity', and dialogues *de Rerum Natura*, only thinly disguised by their dramatic form. We should, indeed, probably have seen this even more clearly had not Io's part been so 'cut' by later managers. To them, it appeared to be 'a kind of *Periodos*, with metre, no less than without it,' as the metrical Herodotus of the *Poetics* was still 'a kind of History.'

With another half-generation, Drama and History had come to the parting of the ways. The fatal condemnation of Phrynichus only accelerated a divergence which was inevitable. Sooner or later Ionian Science was certain to lay its vivisecting hand on Man. Sooner or later Tragedy was to learn that Nature is greater than Art; that no amount of excision or selection could contract the Persian Wars into a Trilogy; that the inventions, even of an Aeschylus, could not stage the army of Xerxes.

The purpose of Herodotus is not consciously present to him always: but it is never far from his thought. In the stimulus of exaltation which followed the first great Panhellenic action 'since Troy fell,' the recent events of a new Heroic Age were *ἀξιαπηγητά*, 'worth recording' for the use of posterity. Like the subjects of Tragedy, they had intrinsic value as actions 'of a certain magnitude.' They were also good actions, of their kind; the fencing of the groom with the horse in that other battle of Salamis; the valour of Masistius and Pytheus; the running of Pheidippides. Yet, left to themselves, these excellent things may die; in wine-shop talk they will surely die. But in their own good company they will live; as accessories to a plot they may be immortal. So he weaves them into the staging of the Great War which made men brave and skilful beyond belief—as the days of Charlemagne did, and of our own Gloriana.

None the less, and indeed mainly upon this account, it was

from Tragedy that the new Art of History learned the larger principles of composition. Let me take only two instances from Herodotus; one, from the prelude to the whole work, where the restraint, in selection and excision, is firmest, and the workmanship most subtle, the Σαρδέων ἅλωσις of Book I, ch. 7-94; the other, Κλεομένης Μαινόμενος, in Books V and VI, where the dramatic art is really highest, because the situation is most complex, and the stage necessarily crowded with figures great and small.

The dramatic quality of the composition is most clearly disengaged in brief compass, if we suppose the situation reversed, and a younger contemporary of Phrynichus engaged upon a 'Capture of Sardis.' The Prologue is spoken (ch. 7-14), —προλογίζει, as the old 'arguments' say—by the Ghost of Gyges, or by Croesus' Nurse, or perhaps by Apollo himself, as he is to be the *deus ex machina* at the end. He tells of the older Dynasties; the story of Kandaules' wife; his own arbitration in favour of Gyges; and Gyges' presents to the Temple at Delphi. To the just and faithful man (as our school editions have it) Apollo shall be a friend in time of need.

Parodos. Enter a chorus of Lydian Elders. Apollo be praised; he is indeed the friend of the righteous; Sardis has weathered the Kimmerian storm (στροφή, ch. 15-16). Our ancient enemy, Miletus, is reconciled; praised be Athena whose temple is in Assessos (ἀντιστροφή, ch. 16-22). Follows an ἔπωδος (ch. 23-24)—'somewhat loosely connected,' the grammarian must add—about Arion and the Dolphin: it shows how Periander, a great sea-king, kept the sea-ways free and punished wrong. Great kings are the regents of Zeus: Croesus is our king, and rules the roads as Periander ruled the waves. Sardis never, never shall be . . .![1]

First Episode. Enter Croesus. The unities demand a speech from the throne on his recent accession. He alludes briefly to the princely generosity of the late King (ch. 25); to the fate of Pantaleon, beneath a harrow; and announces the policy of his reign: paternal despotism over the Greeks of Asia (ch. 26); brotherly affection to Greeks beyond the Seas.

First Stasimon. The strophe describes (ch. 27) how

1. The mafficking Athenian 'on the rocks' begins to scent ἀγαθὰ οἰκήϊα, and whispers something about a gold crown for the dramatist, perhaps even high-table dinner, an ancient substitute for a research fellowship.

Croesus adopted the advice of Bias: Pittacus also was a great sage, and knew about ships; blessed are the merciful (*ἀντιστροφή*) for they shall obtain mercy. There follows a brief description of the course of the Halys (ch. 28); all within its circuit are at the feet of Croesus.

Second Episode. Enter Solon a distinguished economist;

ἥκω κλύων σ', ὦ Κροῖσε, Σαρδέων κρατεῖν.[1]

Alluding briefly to his travels, he asks to see the palace. Croesus, without delay, puts the familiar question,

νῦν ὧν ἐπείρεσθαι σ' ἐπῆλθε μ' ἵμερος·
πάντων, Σόλων, τιν' εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον;

Solon replies by the story of Tellos. Croesus is surprised;

κοίῃ δ' ἔκρινας Τέλλον ὀλβιώτατον;

and receives the traditional rejoinder,

Τέλλος γὰρ εἶχεν εὖ μὲν ἥκουσαν πόλιν
παῖδας δὲ καλοὺς κἀγαθούς, παιδοτρόφους.

Then (31) follow Kleobis and Biton;

τούτοις γὰρ ἦσαν οὖσιν Ἀργείοις γένος
ἀρκῶν βίος καὶ σώματος ῥώμη τοίη,

and then the long astronomical *ῥῆσις* beginning,

ὦ Κροῖσε, πᾶν τὸ θεῖον ἐξεπίσταμαι
φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχωδὲς ἀνθρωπηΐων.

Or perhaps, to give to Solon the chance to reappear as the Messenger in the next Scene, he retires hurt at chapter 33; and the multiplication table, and its moral, are assigned to the Lydian elders, forming the *Second Stasimon.*

The *Third Episode* (ch. 34-45) introduces Adrastus, who is duly purified and is thereon sent a-hunting in charge of Croesus' son Atys.[2] The unities are observed once more, for after five lines from the Chorus (*Third Stasimon*) the Messenger arrives in the *Fourth Episode* to tell the death of Atys: Croesus delivers a *δεινολογία,* which is answered by the Chorus; and the funeral procession passes across the stage.

1. The existence of Homeric reminiscences in Herodotus is a commonplace. The embryonic *iambics* throughout these chapters have not been, I think, so clearly recognised. To bring these to birth, I have adventured slight metrical transpositions.

2. As the latter can only be a *κωφὸν πρόσωπον* (like his brother in real life) his touching plea for release from leading-strings will be spoken by Adrastus.

Fourth Stasimon. The Chorus, whose fears are now thoroughly aroused, rehearses at some length (*strophe*) the story of the war between Alyattes and Kyaxares; (*antistrophe*) the embassy to Delphi; (*second strophe*), the Peisistratid tyranny in Athens; answered by (*second antistrophe*) the finding of the Bones of Orestes by the Blacksmith of Tegea; a brief *epode* expresses apprehension lest Croesus has perhaps done something foolish in his time: if so, heaven help him, for Apollo will find it out. Even a mule has been known to throw his tamer.

The *Fifth Episode* is opened by Croesus, who has overheard the remark about the mule, and takes the opportunity to announce war with Persia; news of a great battle on the Halys may arrive any moment.

Fifth Stasimon. In brief but agitated song (ch. 78-9) the Chorus contribute their own fears that when Croesus' horses recently ate snakes, it foreboded something unusual.

Sixth Episode. Accordingly, 'enter a Messenger,' to explain why the Spartan contingent has not yet started; they have all been killed, except Othryades, in the Battle of the Champions. Othryades is dead, too. Excitement is now at its height. A *peripeteia* may happen any minute. Enter Cyrus;

νίκης ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον αὐτὸς ἄγγελος.

In a long narrative, he tells the devastation of Pteria; the Lydian defeat; his own seizure of the Halys Bridge; and the breakneck ride to Sardis. After courtly *stichomythia*, Croesus is led out to be burned.

Sixth Stasimon; Threnos. The Chorus regret the false economy of Meles, and commend the agility of Hyroiades. Thus does Heaven humble the proud. But Apollo, who can make the dumb speak, will surely save Croesus now. The old Nurse from the Palace enters hurriedly (galliambics) to tell the story of the κωφὸν πρόσωπον. Agitated question-and-answer (in trochaics) indicate that the pyre is burning already.

Enter Apollo *e machina.* He extinguishes the distant fire with copious rain; commends Croesus to Cyrus, as one who has learned by experience: for 'whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth'; and is escorted by the Chorus to his Temple. They sing, absent-mindedly, as they go off, about the Tomb of Alyattes and the Etruscan Question:—τοίονδ' ἀπέβη τόδε πρᾶγμα.

In some such fashion as this we may well imagine a fifth century dramatist recalling to an Athenian audience 'troubles

that were *not* their own,' though like enough to the trouble which was waiting for their children. I have done little more than assign the marginal initials to the characters, and delimit the function of the Chorus.

And now, with this clue I would ask the reader first to follow for himself the selection and sequence of events in Books V and VI, which compose the greater drama, *Kleomenes Mainomenos;* and then to return once again to safe paths, and re-read the *Persae;* translating it, at leisure, into Herodotean prose, with the sure help of Books VIII and IX. In more senses than one it will take him ' behind the scenes.'

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HERODOTUS AND THE BATTLE OF MARATHON

I

That Herodotus' work is far from being a uniform and consecutive composition, and that oral traditions and written sources are used and combined by him in a very complicated way, is beginning to be universally acknowledged.

Foremost among the written sources for the older times ranks Hecataeus of Miletus. But since he cannot have written later than 510, he is out of the question as a source for the Ionian revolt and the Persian wars.[1] Still, Herodotus shows (e.g.) such intimate knowledge of the share which Hecataeus took in the deliberations preceding and following the Ionian revolt, that he must have been able to consult the writings of a man who was in personal and intimate touch with Hecataeus, and we know, indeed, of a writer who fully answers these requirements. This is a fellow-citizen and younger contemporary of Hecataeus, Dionysius of Miletus, who was the first to write a work on Persian history Ἰάδι διαλέκτῳ, including Darius' reign and published after Darius' death (486); a work which he supplemented later on, as I have shown, by a history of the first years of Xerxes in five books, which he rightly deemed of the utmost importance, seeing that they included the great struggle between the Eastern and the Western world. This work he called[2] τὰ μετὰ Δαρεῖον.

That there must have been a contemporary description of the Persian war, appears from notices in later writers, which cannot have possibly been derived from Herodotus, and which often furnish most valuable additions to his report. How true this is in the case of the great Persian war, I have been among[3] the first to point out; and it has been shown in detail by my pupil, Dr. Ernst Obst, in his treatise on the expedition of Xerxes.[4]

1. See my remarks, *Klio*, II (1912), p. 337 ff.
2. See *Klio*, II, 337; III (1903), 330 f.; VI (1906), 130 n. 2, and page 79 of my *Griechische Geschichte* (*Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, herausgegeben von A. Gercke und E. Norden, vol. III. Second edition, 1914).
3. *Geschichte*, p. 85. First edition, 1911, p. 83 f.
4. *Der Feldzug des Xerxes*, in *Klio* (Beiheft 12), 1913.

Although not agreeing throughout with his method and his results, I fully acknowledge he has proved that Herodotus used written sources, to which he owes a great part of what is valuable in his reports. Dr. Obst follows me in attributing Herodotus' written information chiefly to Dionysius of Miletus.

That the same holds good for the expedition of Mardonius and the battle of Marathon, is evident, and has been pointed out by myself repeatedly[1]; nor has it escaped the attention of other scholars, two of whom, Heinlein[2] and Casson,[3] have lately treated the question from different points of view. Both Heinlein and Casson agree that there is at the bottom of Herodotus' narrative of the battle of Marathon a well-informed original source (*Urquelle*), which in the last instance may go back to Miltiades himself. They differ greatly, however, as to the reasons on which they base this conclusion. Heinlein does not speak of a written source, and thinks that Herodotus' report renders the Alcmeonidic redaction and version of this original source, so that the narrative as it stands would be on the whole uniform in that sense. He holds that what is given by Cornelius Nepos consists not only partly but solely of late and arbitrary combinations. This view, then, amounts to the old opinion also held by Eduard Meyer, that no other written source but Herodotus was available to, or at least used by, the later writers,—a view which I have always contested and shall continue to contest.

Mr. Casson on the other hand to my mind is right in laying stress on the differences between Herodotus and other sources, especially Ephorus and Nepos. He agrees with me in holding that differences, which are really essential, must go back in the last instance to Dionysius of Miletus, and he conjectures in addition that Dionysius of Miletus drew upon Philaidic sources, just as Herodotus drew on Alcmeonidic sources for his history. I am, however, bound to say that the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Casson are better accounted for by the way in which he deals with the expedition against Paros, as given by Herodotus and by Nepos, than by the arguments he derives from their respective reports of the battle of Marathon.

For here Mr. Casson, to my mind, goes too far in his valuation of Nepos. He does not take into sufficient account that Herodotus may have been shortened and misunderstood by

1. See *Geschichte*, p. 85 f. (cp. first edition, p. 83 f.).
2. *Marathon und die Alkmeoniden*, in *Ungarische Rundschau*, 1913, p. 880 ff.
3. *The Vita Miltiadis of Cornelius Nepos*, in *Klio*, XIV (1914), p. 69 ff.

Nepos himself, or rather by the source that he follows. And he also forgets that there may be cases where the non-Herodotean sources, or to speak briefly, where Dionysius of Miletus, may be less well informed than Herodotus himself. This (e.g.) holds good in the case of the Psephisma of Miltiades[1] containing the resolution to meet the Persians at Marathon, which by Nepos is confused and combined with the question, discussed after the arrival at Marathon, whether or no the Athenians should return home or go to the battle then and there. Mr. Casson to my mind is certainly wrong in preferring the version given by Nepos.

Herodotus, though not mentioning the Psephisma of Miltiades—perhaps from his Alcmeonidic point of view—yet alludes to it, cf. VI, 101 : *οἱ δὲ Ἐρετριέες ἐπεξελθεῖν μὲν καὶ μάχεσθαι οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλήν, εἴ κως δὲ διαφυλάξαιεν τὰ τείχεα, τούτου σφι πέρι ἔμελε, ἐπείτε ἐνίκα μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν.* VI, 102 : *Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν . . . ἔπλεον* [sc. *οἱ Πέρσαι*] *ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, κατέργοντές τε πολλὸν καὶ δοκέοντες ταὐτὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσειν τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριέας ἐποίησαν . . . Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ . . . ἐβοήθεον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα.* But this difference of opinion as to the share to be attributed to Dionysius of Miletus does not touch the agreement concerning the fundamental fact that his *Περσικά* have been used by Herodotus for his account of Marathon. We must, however, not forget, in speaking of Dionysius of Miletus, that not only Herodotus but his predecessors, the younger *logographoi*, must have had access to and have used his writings ; so that in speaking of ' Dionysius ' as the source of Herodotus we do not mean in each case to decide the question whether Herodotus used his writings in their original version, or through the medium of Charon of Lampsacus, or of Hellanicus ; each of whom was the author of a work called *Περσικά*, which was published before Herodotus made parts of his work known in *ἀκροάσεις*.

In my lectures held at Oxford during the Autumn term of last year, I raised the question how it happens that Herodotus sometimes inadvertently betrays a knowledge of facts of first rate importance for our conception of the Persian war, which he can only have derived from Dionysius of Miletus, and which he entirely suppresses in the main part of his narrative. I answered the question, though doubtfully, by assuming that a literary and political anti-Ionian bias on the part of Herodotus,

1. Demosthenes, XIX, 303 ; Aristotle, *Rhet.*, III, 10 (Kephisodotus) ; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.*, I, 10, 3 (*Moralia*, ed. Bernerdakis, vol. IV, p. 47).

the partisan and admirer of Athens, was the reason or among the reasons. I am reminded by Mr. Casson's essay (p. 86) that I had been forestalled in this by Professor Bury, who says : ' this Ionian *logos* of the Persian war was, we may conjecture, a challenge to unreserved admirers of Athens.' Mr. Casson adds : ' as such it would naturally bring out in full detail such points as are brought out in the narrative of Nepos and omitted in that of Herodotus.'

II

All the results alluded to above have hitherto been reached on the strength of internal evidence only. As far as I can see, it has been generally overlooked that Herodotus himself very often gives us a key and a hint concerning the composition of his reports, thus helping us to confirm, by external and formal evidence, the results attained by a close investigation of the content of his reports.

That an attentive survey of the style of classical authors can often help to decide questions, which formerly seemed to be only subject to discussion and decision on the internal merits of the case, is being more and more acknowledged. I need only point to the brilliant researches of Eduard Norden of Berlin.[1]

Herodotus in very many cases distinctly marks digressions from the regular course of his narrative by introductory phrases, and by final clauses which often correspond to those phrases.

This of course will have been noticed before. But, as long as Herodotus was thought to be a writer whose work was almost exclusively based on oral tradition, the value of these hints for the discrimination of the sources could not be recognised.

It would, of course, be going too far, if every such digression and every junctional clause were taken to be a proof of a change of sources, let alone of written ones. But, if sections which Herodotus himself marks as deviations have been sifted out by internal evidence as belonging to a source which is different from the chief authority which Herodotus follows in a given part of his narrative, then such a coincidence of the internal and external evidence will help to establish the correctness of the conclusion.

On the other hand, starting from the fact that Herodotus himself, consciously or unwillingly, distinguishes such insertions,

1. I only quote the last one : *Josephus and Tacitus über Jesus Christus und eine messianische Prophetie*, in *Neue Jahrbücher*, 31 (1913), p. 637 ff.

we may with some prospect of success raise the question whether the inserted section may not be derived from a different source, so that external evidence would induce us to search for internal evidence in the same direction. Let me give a few examples.

The story of how Babylon was twice taken by the Persians forms a distinct tale inserted into two different parts of Herodotus' narratives. The two chapters, so to speak, of this story, dealing with the first and the second capture, are inserted apart from each other into different parts of Herodotus' narrative; but the author takes care to point out their mutual relations as two parts of the same narrative by his final clauses: *καὶ Βαβυλὼν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἁραίρητο* (I, 191) and *Βαβυλὼν μέν νυν οὕτω τὸ δεύτερον αἱρέθη* (III, 159).

Having finished with the battle of Marathon, Herodotus dwells upon the Alcmeonides, in order to exculpate them from the reproach of collusion with the Persians, and then proceeds to explain their greatness by the story of Agariste and her wooers.

This tale is universally acknowledged to be a digression of a legendary or novelistic character. Herodotus introduces it by the words: *Οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἀθήνῃσι, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος καὶ αὖτις Μεγακλέος ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροί* (VI, 125); and marks its end by the phrase: *καὶ οὕτω Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἐβώσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα* (VI, 131), which distinctly refers back to the introduction, so that the story, being in a way framed in the introductory and the final phrase, is marked externally as an account by itself.

But in this uniform story we find again, at a certain point, a statement from a different source. Among those who wish to win the hand of Agariste, Leokedes, the son of Pheidon, the tyrant of Argos, is mentioned. Of course it is quite impossible that Leokedes' father, who lived in the sixth century B.C., should be identical with the celebrated king Pheidon, who ruled Argos and the Peloponnese in the middle of the eighth century.[1] But in this as in other cases Herodotus, meeting with the name of a renowned person, jumps, without any consideration for chronological difficulties, to the conclusion that he is face to face with the most celebrated bearer of the name.[2]

He takes Philokyprus, the father of Aristokyprus who fell in Cyprus during the Ionian revolt about 498, to be identical

1. See my *Griechische Geschichte*, p. 11, p. 108 f.

2. For the following compare my remarks in *Klio*, II (1902), p. 334 ff., and my *Griechische Geschichte*, ed. 2 (1914), p. 82.

with that Philokyprus to whom Solon addressed his well-known poem, whereas the two bearers of the name can really only have been grandfather and grandson; and he identifies the later Pheidon with his great ancestor, attributing to the *epigonos* what is due to the hero of old—his statements concerning Pheidon being evidently taken from a well informed source—in this case Hecataeus, to whom Pausanias also (VI, 22) through the medium of Ephorus is indebted for his information.[1]

In both these cases the internal evidence is confirmed by the way in which Herodotus marks his additions as such. By repeating the names and adding a δέ he indicates that he is conscious of grafting different pieces of information upon the body of his otherwise uniform narrative: καὶ ὁ Σολίων βασιλεὺς Ἀριστόκυπρος ὁ Φιλοκύπρου—Φιλοκύπρου δὲ τούτου, τὸν Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἀπικόμενος ἐς Κύπρον ἐν ἔπεσι αἴνεσε μάλιστα (V, 113). In the case of Pheidon this is emphasised by words referring back to what had been said before; and thus a junction is formed between the intercalation and the chief report: Φείδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου παῖς Λεωκήδης—Φείδωνος δε τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίοισι κτλ.—τούτου δὲ δὴ παῖς καὶ Ἀμύντας Λυκούργου κτλ. (VI, 127).

Again, Herodotus describes the vegetation of Babylonia and the customs of the Babylonians; and, as I have shown,[2] this description is based upon an older account, written by Hecataeus, which, with scarcely any essential changes and with one addition which is easily discernible,[3] has been handed down to us by Strabo in an atticised form, probably through the medium of Aristobulus.

But into this account of Hecataeus Herodotus introduces original observations of his own. Between his description of the vegetation and of the customs Herodotus inserts a narrative about the wonderful vessels he has seen on the Euphrates. He begins this piece of additional information by the words: τὸ δὲ ἁπάντων θῶμα μέγιστόν μοί ἐστι τῶν ταύτῃ μετά γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἔρχομαι φράσων (I, 144); and he returns to the description of the garment of the Babylonians and their other customs, as based upon Hecataeus, by the final phrase: τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσί ἐστι τοιαῦτα (I, 195), which forms the junction between the insertion and the chief text, which goes on: ἐσθῆτι δὲ τῇδε χρέωνται.

1. See my *Griechische Geschichte*, p. 83.

2. *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, Festschrift für Heinrich Kiepert* (1898), p. 305 ff.

3. The three ἀρχεῖα which seem to belong to Hellenistic times, as U. Kahrstedt pointed out to me; this is confirmed by the fact that they are not mentioned in Herodotus at all, who otherwise omits no essential point of Hecataeus' report.

Herodotus' description of the city of Babylon is also based chiefly upon Hecataeus (and partly on Dionysius of Miletus). Herodotus found and reproduced a short description of the city, giving the measurements of the wall and of the moat, and after that turning to the two parts of the city. Before considering the latter, he adds some observations of his own which he quite clearly describes as such by his own words: *δεῖ δή με πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι φράσαι ἵνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ ἀναισιμώθη καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὅντινα τρόπον ἔργαστο,* and which he winds up by the words *ἐτετείχιστο μέν νυν ἡ Βαβυλὼν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε* (I, 180); returning to his principal subject, the description of the city and its two parts: *ἔστι δὲ δύο φάρσεα τῆς πόλιος.*

If we now turn to Herodotus' narrative of the battle of Marathon, we meet at once with a distinct proof that Herodotus consciously used the same methods of indicating additions based upon his special information. After having given the number of those who fell in the battle on both sides, he tells the story how Epizelos saw a vision and lost his sight. It is introduced by repeating to a certain degree what has been said before: *ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τοσοῦτοι* (VI, 117); and we find a final phrase in which Herodotus refers to his source in an exceptionally clear way: *ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν.*

Taking this as a lead, we can proceed to employ both internal and external evidence for an enquiry into the composition of Herodotus' description of the battle of Marathon, the somewhat surprising results of which are depicted in the following rendering of the text.

III

We find at the bottom of the narrative a uniform description of the battle—simple matter of fact, the parts of which can mostly be joined on to one another without any change or addition, except a *καὶ* here and there; and which, being not in full harmony with Herodotus' own information, and partly in direct contradiction to it, must have been taken by him from another source. This report (*A*) is printed in ordinary Greek type: *ἐν Μαραθῶνι.* We can reasonably attribute its essence to Dionysius of Miletus (*See* V). There are furthermore (a difficulty which is quite common in such cases of analysis) some sections (*a*), which may or may not have been contained in *A*—the other chief alternative being that they are part of

Herodotus' own information. In a few cases perhaps they might possibly be additions made by the *logographoi* who followed Dionysius but preceded Herodotus. These sections (*a*) are printed in the same type, but overlined: ἐν Μαραθῶνι. Into both *A* and *a* we find inserted additions (*B*) by Herodotus, coming chiefly though not exclusively under the headings of (1) evident errors, (2) portents, miracles, and the like, (3) speeches, and (4) specifically Athenian information, and being almost invariably marked out externally as insertions by Herodotus himself. These are printed in smaller Greek type: ἐν Μαραθῶνι, and shortened summaries are in corresponding English type: speech of Miltiades.

The junctions between either *A* or *a* and *B* (mostly printed in small, but sometimes, when too nearly connected with sentences belonging to *A* or *a*, also in larger types) are underlined: ἐν Μαραθῶνι or ἐν Μαραθῶνι. Those words which for the sake of forming these junctions are repeated or referred to are s p a c e d, both at their first occurrence and when they reappear or are replaced by synonymous phrases.

It must, however, be borne in mind from the first that the way in which Herodotus works does *not lend itself to any definite and mechanical disintegration, and that such disintegration therefore cannot and must not be aimed at.* Even when using an original written report Herodotus, of course, need not employ its words, but may incorporate and submerge the information thus received in his own narrative. In other words, though we are often face to face with a mosaic, in other cases we must realise that we have to deal with a painting in which the different strata of colours cannot now be separated. This, as Dr. Obst observed, is specially the case where a peculiarly Athenian touch can be given to events of the great Persian war.

The same holds good for the battle of Marathon. So the substance of chapter 113 must have been contained in *A*, and there are certain elements which distinctly betray the hand of *A* (see p. 108). But everything is—and here quite legitimately—told from the Athenian point of view. Here a separation is not possible or desirable; it is *A* in a Herodotean recast, and more amalgamated than many other parts of Herodotus' narrative that have been taken from *A* or are shaped upon it. These cases, though sometimes and to a certain degree akin to, still are not identical with *a*, but essentially different, so that overlining has not been employed.

IV

102. Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἔπλεον (sc. οἱ Πέρσαι) ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, κατέργοντές τε πολλὸν καὶ δοκέοντες ταὐτὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσειν τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριέας ἐποίησαν. καὶ ἦν γὰρ Μαραθὼν ἐπιτηδεότατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι καὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἐρετρίης, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο Ἱππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα ἐβοήθεον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα. ἦγον δέ σφεας στρατηγοὶ δέκα τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης, τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Κίμωνα κτλ.: antecedents of Miltiades . . . . 104 *ad fin.*, ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. 105. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐόντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμπουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην, Ἀθηναῖον μὲν ἄνδρα, ἄλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμον τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντα· τῷ δή, ὡς αὐτός τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον ὄρος ὁ Πὰν περιπίπτει κτλ.: Institution of sacrifices to Pan. 106. τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα φανῆναι, δευτεραῖος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε κτλ.: speech of Pheidippides. ὁ μὲν δή σφι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε. τοῖσι δὲ ἔαδε μὲν βοηθέειν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δέ σφι ἦν τὸ παραυτίκα ποιέειν ταῦτα οὐ βουλομένοισι λύειν τὸν νόμον. ἦν γὰρ ἰσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτῃ, εἰνάτῃ δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ὄντος τοῦ κύκλου. 107. οὗτοι μέν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον. τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι κατηγέετο Ἱππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἰδὼν [ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ] τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἱππίης τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνευνηθῆναι. συνεβάλετο ὧν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου κατελθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν, τελευτήσειν ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γηραιός.[1] ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψιος συνεβάλετο ταῦτα, τότε δὲ κατηγεόμενος τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ἐξ Ἐρετρίης ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Λιγίλειαν, τοῦτο δὲ καταγομένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὥρμιζε οὗτος, ἐκβάντας τε ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε. καί οἱ ταῦτα διέποντι ἐπῆλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βῆξαι μεζόνως ἢ ὡς ἐώθεε κτλ: he loses a tooth and says: Ἡ γῆ ἥδε οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἐστὶ οὐδέ μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι. ὀκόσον δέ τί μοι μέρος μετῆν, ὁ ὀδὼν μετέχει. 108. Ἱππίης μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ τὴν ὄψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυθέναι. Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένεϊ Ἡρακλέος ἐπῆλθον βοηθέοντες Πλαταιέες πανδημεί. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδώκεσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλαταιέες καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν [οἱ] Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς ἤδη ἀναιρέατο·

1. Mother Earth (cp. A. Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, where this example has recently been added in the second edition, 1913, p. 132).

ἔδοσαν δὲ ὧδε. κτλ.: story of relations between Plataiai and Athens till 108 *ad fin*: ἔδοσαν μὲν δὴ οἱ Πλαταιέες σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἦκον δὲ τότε ἐς Μαραθῶνα βοηθέοντες. 109. τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γνῶμαι, τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐώντων συμβαλεῖν (ὀλίγους γὰρ εἶναι στρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων συμβάλλειν), τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδεω κελευόντων. ὡς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐνίκα ἡ χείρων τῶν γνωμέων, ἐνθαῦτα ἦν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος ψηφιδοφόρος ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχέειν (τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεῦντο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι), ἦν δὲ τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλιμάχος Ἀφιδναῖος, πρὸς τοῦτον ἐλθὼν Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε κτλ.: speech of Miltiades. 110. ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτᾶται τὸν Καλλίμαχον· προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρχου τῆς γνώμης ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ὡς ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο πρυτανηίη τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδῃ παρεδίδοσαν· ὁ δὲ δεκόμενος οὔτι κω συμβολὴν ἐποιέετο, πρίν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανηίη ἐγένετο. 111. ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς συμβαλέοντες· τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος ἡγέετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἶχε οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν· ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου ἐξεδέκοντο αἱ φυλαὶ ἐχόμεναι ἀλληλέων, τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο, ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας Πλαταιέες. ἀπὸ ταύτης γάρ σφι τῆς μάχης, Ἀθηναίων θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύριας τὰς ἐν τῇσι πεντηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναίος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι. τότε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι ἐγένετο τοιόνδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τάξιας ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἑκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθεϊ. 112. ὡς δέ σφι διετέτακτο καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλά, ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἀπείθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δρόμῳ ἴεντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους: run of 8 stadia; what the barbarians thought of it. ταῦτα μέν νυν οἱ βάρβαροι κατείκαζον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείτε ἀθρόοι προσέμιξαν τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὁρῶντες καὶ ἄνδρας τοὺς ταύτην ἐσθημένους· τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι καὶ τὸ οὔνομα Μήδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι. 113. μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγίνετο πολλός. καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσαι τε αὐτοὶ καὶ Σάκαι ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἑκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Πλαταιέες. νικῶντες δὲ τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔων, τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρεα [ἀμφότερα] ἐμάχοντο καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. φεύγουσι δε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι εἵποντο

κόπτοντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἴτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πόλέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος διαφθείρεται. κτλ.: death of Στησίλεως, feat and death of Κυνέγειρος, and of many other prominent Athenians. ἑπτὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε Ἀθηναῖοι, τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐν τῇ ἔλιπον τὰ ἐξ Ἐρετρίης ἀνδράποδα, περιέπλεον Σούνιον βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. αἰτίην δὲ ἔσχε Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμεωνιδέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τούτους γὰρ συνθεμένους τοῖσι Ἱέρσῃσι ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα ἐοῦσι ἤδη ἐν τῇσι νηυσί. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περιέπλεον Σούνιον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον [τάχιστα] ἐβοήθεον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ ἔφθησάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἥκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἐξ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργει. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῇσι νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου, (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων) ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

117. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο. ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τοσοῦτοι. συνήνεικε δὲ αὐτόθι θῶμα γενέσθαι τοιόνδε. κτλ.: vision and blinding of Ἐπίζηλος . . . . . ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν.[1] 119. τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀνδραποδισμένους Δᾶτίς τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης, ὡς προσέσχον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην πλέοντες, ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ Δαρεῖος. κτλ.: the settlement of Eretrians at Arderikka οἳ καὶ μέχρι ἐμ' ο εἶχον τὴν χώρην ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν.[2] 120. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἐρετριέας ἔσχε οὕτω. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἦκον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχίλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον . . . . μετὰ δὲ αἰνεοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω.

1. Doubts may be entertained as to chapter 118 which contains the dream of Datis, and is preceded by the story of Epizelos belonging to *B*. One might be inclined to assign the whole chapter 118 to *B* too; indeed, if we join the beginning of chapter 119 to the end of chapter 116 nothing will be found missing as to the movement of the parties concerned. On the other hand there is no internal evidence of an insertion concerning chapter 118, and nobody can prove that the older *logographoi*, including Dionysius of Miletus, never alluded to dreams and portents; and a dream of Datis, geographically well defined, the subject of which is not known, may be more easily attributed to an Ionian source. So the beginning of the chapter might belong to Dionysius. The further communication concerning relations between the cult of Delos and Delion, one would be inclined to consider as an addition by Herodotus. But again, there is among other reasons for hesitation a touch of the etymological manner of Hecataeus which has been followed by Dionysius (Cp. my *Griechische Geschichte*, p. 86). So the whole chapter remains doubtful and has therefore been omitted above.

2. The settlement of the Eretrians, as it stands in Herodotus is, of course, a statement of his own, but it must be borne in mind that its essence can easily be and is probably a statement made by Dionysius—brought up to date and into connection with himself by Herodotus, as is his constant custom in such cases.

V

It would in itself not be impossible that in *A*, *a*, and *B* we might have three different groups of information, collected together, and joined on and into one another, by Herodotus, by way of oral or at least not otherwise traceable information.

But, as hinted above, a comparison between *A* and *B* will clearly show that they must be of different origin, and, since *B* is distinctly Herodotean, *A* must be attributed to another source. *A*,—besides being matter-of-fact both as to its contents and its style,—is well and reasonably informed about military matters, especially where the measures and tactics of the Persians are concerned. Mark the fitness of the plain of Marathon for the Persian cavalry; the fact that the Persian battle array was ready so that the Greeks had to adapt themselves to it; the fact that the Persians and the Sakai held the middle, which at first was victorious; and the way in which the Eretrian prisoners were disposed of. Added to this we find special attention given to geography.

B on the other hand shows that absence of any real insight into military matters, which is so characteristic of Herodotus; we need only refer to the *dromos* of eight stadia, covered by running. This can never have happened, though some quite conceivable event is at the bottom of it.[1] The difference of style is also very marked. Compare especially chapter 114 (which is marked out by Herodotus himself as an insertion) with 113[2] and 115.

The strongest internal evidence as to Herodotus' own authorship of *B* is his erroneous view that in 490 B.C. the polemarch was appointed by lot, which was certainly not the case. The κλήρωσις of the archons which Solon had prescribed had been dropped by the constitution of Kleisthenes[3] and was not re-introduced until 487. Besides this erroneous statement we find the speech, by which Miltiades won over Kallimachos to the view that they should not leave Marathon; and furthermore the impossible story that Miltiades, when all his colleagues had yielded their daily command to him, should have waited until it was really his turn to have the *prytaneia*. This tale only serves to legalise and normalise the superior position of Miltiades, and to account for the time

1. Runs interrupted by short rests (*sprungweise vorgeben*); see my *Griechische Geschichte*, p. 28.

2. Cp. above, p. 104.

3. For further details see my paper *Schatzmeister- und Archontenwahl in Athen*, in *Klio*, VI (1906), 304 ff.

which elapsed between the arrival of the Greeks at Marathon and the battle.

Such a delay evidently took place; but for other reasons, which must have been given in the original report.

It is very significant, that both this statement and the speech of Miltiades can be passed ever without leaving any gap, so that we read: 109. *ὡς δὲ δίχα ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐνίκα ἡ χείρων τῶν γνωμέων, ἐνθαῦτα . . . .* 110. . . . . *ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτᾶται τὸν Καλλίμαχον.*[1]

There is, however, even more distinct evidence for the different origin of *A* and *B*. In two important points they flatly contradict each other. According to *B* the Athenians chose the time for the attack; but *A*, stating that the Persians were in battle array earlier than the Greeks (see above), must have assumed that they made the first move and were acting on the offensive, or possibly (and most probably) on what may be called the defensive-offensive (*Offensiv-Defensive*).

Secondly, according to *A*, the plain of Marathon had been chosen by Hippias and the Persians on account of its fitness for the cavalry.[2] *B*, however, does not mention the cavalry at all, whereas, in a uniform and consecutive account, the absence of the cavalry and its reasons ought at least to have been mentioned. It goes without saying that the author of *A* (Dionysius), according to the whole character and constitution of his report, cannot have been guilty of omitting any further allusion to the cavalry. Now it is an obvious consideration that where digressions of Herodotus are inserted into the original narrative which he had before him, parts of the latter may have been crowded out by Herodotus' additions. And if, in other classical writers apart from Herodotus, we find a statement concerning the further movements of the cavalry, we are driven to the conclusion that this must have originally formed a part of *A*. Now there is a well-known statement in Suidas (s.v. *Χωρὶς ἱππεῖς*) that the Ionians in the Persian army signalled to the Greeks these two words, in order to inform them that the Persian cavalry had been re-embarked, and this statement not only furnishes the clue to the absence of the cavalry, but explains the whole situation preceding and leading up to the battle. It is certain that the Greeks, after they had gone out to Marathon according

1. If Kallimachos was mentioned here for the first time in the original narrative, we should probably have to add here what Herodotus states towards the beginning of chapter 109, that he was Aphidnaios and polemarch.

2. As to the cavalry cp. Casson's valuable remarks, *Klio*, XIV, p. 76 ff.

to the celebrated Psephisma of Miltiades, began to be doubtful whether they should not return to Athens, and that Miltiades had great difficulty in persuading the polemarch to give his vote in favour of staying where they were. The reason for this division of opinions cannot, however, have been the one given by Herodotus—i.e., the fear which began to overwhelm the Greeks at the sight of the Persian forces,—but the fact that the Persians had begun to re-embark, aiming at a direct movement against Athens in agreement with a party favourable to Hippias and the Persians, foremost among whom were the Alkmaeonides. This immediate danger could very well make a return to Athens appear advisable to the less far-sighted among the *στρατηγοί*.

VI

We are now in a position to reconstruct the course of events[1]—taking into consideration (1) the original report (*A*—essentially Dionysius of Miletus), (2) the pieces of information belonging originally to this report, which have been crowded out by the partly erroneous additions of Herodotus, but preserved by other later authors, and (3) and (4) what is valuable in *a* and *B*.

Approach of the Persians from Eretria ; plain of Marathon chosen on account of its fitness for cavalry ; Psephisma of Miltiades to encounter the enemy at Marathon ; Pheidippides sent out to summon Spartan assistance which is delayed ; march to Marathon on northern road by Cephisia ; camp in the valley of Avlona above the plain of Marathon ; the Persian guards, sent out by Hippias to prevent the Greeks from attaining this aim, eluded by cautious use of the darkness[2] ; the Greeks at Marathon joined by the Plataeans. The Persians, seeing that the Greeks have come out to prevent their reaching Athens by land on the chief road, and having received a signal from a party in Athens, ready to assist them and to re-instal Hippias, begin to move against Athens by sea and by land. They re-embark a great part of their forces, especially the whole

1. Cp. also Macan's *Herodotus, Books IV-VI*, vol. II, p. 231 f. ; 241 f. Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 252.

2. This I now think is the meaning of the statement preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata*, I, 162) which, though rather vague, may go back to an old and valuable source, possibly Dionysius himself. It is probably this first position, not, as I formerly took it (*Griech. Gesch.*, first edition, p. 84), the one at the beginning of the battle itself, which was gained by Miltiades' stratagem.

body of their cavalry, having also realised the difficulties in the topography of the plain which would prevent their using the cavalry successfully.[1]

Being aware of this movement, at least five of the Athenian generals want to return to Athens. This is prevented by Miltiades, who wins over the polemarch to his side. The Persian land force had to follow and to protect the main road to Athens and was therefore prepared for fight. The Ionians in the Persian army having signalled Χωρὶς ἱππεῖς, Miltiades brought his forces into a desirable position at the foot of the mountains (Nepos, *Miltiades* 5, 3, based upon Dionysius of Miletus).

The Persians, seeing that the Athenians are preparing for battle, draw up their array in readiness to receive them. The Greek forces are drawn out so as to be equal to the Persians in breadth. Victory of the Greeks as described by Herodotus.[2]

Forced march of the Greeks back to Athens[3] to forestall Datis before he had rounded Cape Sunion. Return of the Persians by way of Aigialeia, whence they take the Eretrians to Susa and further. Arrival of the Spartans shortly after the battle.

C. F. LEHMANN-HAUPT

LIVERPOOL

1. Nepos, *Miltiades*, 5, 3, cp. Casson, *Klio*, XIV, 74 f. I am, however, very doubtful about the ingenious inference based by Mr. Casson upon the old reading *nova arte* instead of *non apertissima*.

2. Cp. p. 104, last paragraph, and p. 108, note 1.

3. What this forced march after the battle meant could well be realised by anyone who partook of our march with Fabricius in 1912 from Bogiati, about a mile from Stamata, to the valley of Avlona (i.e., a great part of the road from Athens to the Athenian encampment by way of Cephisia), thence down to the Soros and back to Bogiati by way of Marathona.

THE RUSSIANS AND MONGOLIA

I

The news that the Russian Government had recently detached a number of Cossack officers to train up a body of Mongol cavalry regiments is only what was to be expected: as was suggested in *Chambers' Journal* for July, 1912 :—

> Russia's recent action in declaring Mongolia a sort of protectorate seems to have been slow to attract the notice of Europe . . . Russia has secured first call upon the best part of a million of hardy horsemen, who have in the past already once conquered both Russia and Tibet; who can, under Russian direction, at any time sweep the whole backbone of Asia,' etc., etc.

As distinct from the Manchus, masters of both Mongolia and China by a shrewd admixture of policy and conquest, the Chinese have never been direct rulers of any part of Mongolia, for the simple reason that the machinery of civil government does not exist, and cannot well exist without agricultural and industrial centres. They have rightly described the hordes who have always hung upon their flanks ('slapped their back' is the historical expression) from the north as 'horseback states.' Ever-shifting communities of flying horsemen, following water and pasture in transportable tents, are at all times 'unseizable' by settled communities of the Chinese type, and these nomads have hitherto been wise enough to see that their own safety lay in rapid mobilisation. When these shifting races were called Huns, a Chinese eunuch envoy who had turned traitor thus warned the Hun Khan Kayuk, son of Baghdur (B.C. 173) :—

> The whole host of the Huns would not set off against a couple of Chinese provincial divisions; but they are stronger because their clothes and food are so different, and because they are independent of China for both. Yet I notice the Khan is beginning to change his habits and to take a fancy to Chinese things; Chinese clothes will not stand rough usage like your own felts; Chinese delicacies are more perishable and less portable than your own kumiss and cheese.

Then, when another Chinese envoy arrived and upbraided him, the powerful eunuch minister said :—

> Why reproach the Huns for giving their old folks a back seat? When their armies start, do not their people at home deprive themselves of the best and the warmest for their benefit? War is the business of the Huns: the weak and aged cannot fight, and therefore for their own

protection they give the best to the robust and strong. As to your criticisms about marrying stepmothers and brothers' widows, the Huns eat the flesh and drink the milk of their animals, wearing their skins: their herds feed on grass and drink the waters, shifting from place to place according to season; hence in time of need every man is a practised bowman, whilst in peace times every man takes it easy; the administration is summary, and easy to carry out; the relation between ruler and ruled is simple and durable; the government of the whole community is as that of one body; when father and elder brother die, their wives are taken over in order that the kindred and the family name may be preserved; thus the Huns, though 'incestuous,' at least take care of the family stock. Now, in China such widows get estranged; quarrels ensue, and injury is done to the family reputation. Rites and privileges are so effete that class is raised against class, and you waste your energies in building palaces with forced labour: in order to obtain food and clothing you have to till the land and cultivate the mulberry; you only feel safe in cities and towns; thus it is that in times of urgency you cannot fight, and in times of peace you are overworked.

The remarkable feature of this conversation is that it is almost a literal transcription of the conversation between a Roman renegade living with Attila who harangued the Roman envoy Priscus in exactly the same way six centuries later; this was after the Chinese pressure had gradually driven most of the Huns westward.

If we pass on to the Turks, who were simply the successors of the remaining Huns, we find the Turkish statesman Tunyukuk (whose monument in Turkish was discovered not far from Urga some twenty or more years ago) using the following language to his brother Bilga Khan, because the latter showed a tendency to follow the Chinese practice of building cities, monasteries, and places of worship (A.D. 720) :—

No! The Turkish population is small, not one hundredth part of China's, and the only reason we have always been able to cope with her is that we are pasture-seeking nomads trusting to our herds and the chase for a living: hence we are all, man for man, practised in military exercises. When we are strong, we advance and make plundering raids; when we are weak, we lurk in the mountain forests. Though the Chinese soldiers may be numerous, they have no means of getting at us there. If we start building cities and gradually change our old national habits, some day when defeat comes we shall be annexed altogether by China. Moreover, the very idea of monasteries and temples is to inculcate mildness and gentleness in man: that is not the way to become warlike and to strive successfully for mastery.

Several tent interviews between Tunyukuk and the Chinese envoys are described, in which the blunt but honest diplomacy of the Turks was generally quite a match for Chinese cunning.

II

After this most of the Turks were edged off westwards like their forbears the Huns, and North China was for six hundred years entirely ruled by sporadic Turkish, Mongol, or Tungusic dynasties arising from the original Hun ruins of nomadic empire. So far from China ruling the Tartars, the Tartars often drew tribute from even the Chinese half of China in the south, besides themselves ruling directly in the north as Emperors. Then came the great Mongol dynasty of Genghis and Kublai Khans, which, gradually extending, for over a century treated both Russia and China as vassal populations. In 1368 a native Chinese dynasty (for the second time only since a thousand years) ruled over China proper ; but during the three hundred years of its existence, so far, again, from ruling directly or even indirectly over Mongolia, China had to defend herself unceasingly against Mongolian attacks : one of the Chinese emperors died miserably at a place called ' Elm-tree Brook,' in East Mongolia, while personally conducting a weary campaign, not of conquest but of defence (1424). Twenty-five years later the Western Mongols, or Kalmucks, succeeded in extending their predominating influence over Eastern Mongolia too, and formed a carefully prepared scheme against Peking pretensions. The Chinese Emperor was defeated and taken prisoner with the loss of 100,000 men at a village on the Peking-Kalgan road called T'umu, just where the highway branches off to the right to the well-known Tu-shih K'ou Pass. The Emperor remained in distant captivity for one year, after which (1450), as he turned out to be an expensive and useless white elephant upon their hands, the Kalmucks sent him back : he did not succeed in ousting (it is said by some—murdering) his reigning imperial brother until 1457, when the Kalmuck Khan died, and the elder Emperor felt that he might safely reign again. The tent scene, in which the Mongol Khan, his family, the captive Emperor, and the negotiating envoy all took part, recalls the above-described tent scenes from Hunnish and Turkish periods : the life was exactly the same in principle ; thousands of predatory horsemen roving in swooping bodies all along the line from Upsa Nor and Kokonor to the Corean frontiers. After this the Chinese knew so little of Mongolia, east or west, that their records cannot even give us an intelligible account of the different Khans' names ; so much so, that it cannot now be discovered from any source at all what either the Kalmuck

or the Eastern Mongolian demises and successions precisely were.

It was just at this period (1520-1550) that the Portuguese and Russians began to show themselves in China, by sea and by land respectively; and, as regards the western and northern parts of Mongolia, the Russians then really knew more and saw more of it than the Chinese; their claims to Mongolia by conquest through their successes over the Kipchaks, neighbours of the Kalmucks, were quite as good as any 'moral' claims of the Chinese, who had been completely worsted. Chinese and Russians were at last brought together in connection with Anda or Altan Khan (as the Chinese call him), the Altin Khan or 'Golden Tsar' of the imperfect Russian accounts. The Portuguese adventurer Mendez Pinto,—who had joined a Chinese pirate, and was wrecked and captured somewhere on the Tientsin-Manchuria coast, subsequently finding his way either to Anda's camp or to that of Anda's nominal suzerain and junior relative the 'Tata' Khan of East Mongolia,—bears witness to the presence of 'Muscoos' in the Mongol camp (1544). This was, however, by no means the first Russian experience of Mongol-China: already two centuries before, the Mongol dynasty of Yüan at Peking, then masters of both Russia and China, had been in the habit of recruiting special regiments or companies of Russians to act as guards at the Peking palace; and it must be remembered that the Chinese Ming dynasty of whose experiences we are now writing (1368-1644), though they drove out the Mongols from China, had absolutely no say in Mongol home-rule matters until they lost their Empire to the Manchus, who for the first time established, not Chinese, but Manchu direct authority throughout Mongolia; that is, the Mongols were left alone under the loose superintendence of a few military proconsuls. From 1520 to 1571 Anda's surprise hosts had swept unceasingly over the Chinese frontiers along the whole length of the Wall, until at this latter date, worn out with years and activities—not so wise in his generation as Baghdur the Hun or Tunyukuk the Turk,—he yielded to Tibetan peace influences, made a treaty with China, surrendered the Chinese traitors in his service, accepted a Chinese princely title, and continued until his death in 1582 a fairly faithful (but absolutely independent) 'subject.' He built monasteries, notably one at Kokonor, upon which the Emperor bestowed an auspicious political name; invited thither the then almost unknown Lama of Lhassa,

at the time 32 years of age; and in 1575 himself bestowed upon him the title of Dalai Lama Vajradhāra, which has been in use by his re-embodied successors ever since. Both Russians and Pinto himself bear witness to the temples, monasteries, and 'pagodas' (meaning places of Buddhistic worship) they came across during their sojourn in the Mongol encampments: the Russian route is pretty clearly traceable from Upsa Nor to Kalgan, and Pinto's route equally so from 'Pequim' and Kalgan along the line of the Wall westwards past Kwei-hwa ch'êng to Ling-chou (on the Great Wall and Yellow River), Ordos, and perhaps Si-ning and Kokonor: the main difficulty is to find out the particular Tartar ruler of whom Yalicheff and Pinto respectively spoke in this or that year, and also of which priestly lama and monastery they are speaking. The Cheptsun Dampa of Urga, with whom the Russians have recently been negotiating a treaty, did not reside at Urga until 1664: before that date he was at Kwei-hwa ch'êng in the extreme north of Shan Si province; but it is not yet clear when first he settled at the latter place, and who created his title for him: until the Manchu conquest, the present Chinese name for Urga, *K'ulun*, does not appear, nor does it seem to be accurately known by what name the Chinese called Kwei-hwa ch'êng (then in Tartar territory) at the time Pinto was (most probably) there. In 1567 the Russian mission to Peking despatched *via* Upsa Nor and Kalgan reached their goal, but were dismissed *re infecta* because they had brought no offerings: there were other Russian missions in 1608, 1619, etc.; but Chinese history is silent about them.

It was now that the Manchu power began to develop, and to move southwards towards the Peking frontiers. The so-called Inner Mongols—that is, those outside and nearest to the Wall—were gradually induced,—as social equals, not as serfs,—to join the Manchu interest: Northern Mongolia and Western Mongolia were quite unfettered, and therefore not to be induced; they had to be conquered, and this serious business taxed the utmost efforts of three successive Manchu Emperors, extending over a period of a hundred years. In both of the two principal cases the Manchu Emperors had to deal with the Russians, and in both those cases the troops employed were chiefly if not entirely Manchus and friendly Mongols. The Russians were decisively checked by force in the north and north-east, and from 1660 to 1860 may be said to have remained, awe-stricken and innocuous, beyond the River Amur: a number of Russian

captives were formed into a Corps or 'Banner' after the Manchu military model, and their spiritual needs were seen to under treaty by Russian ecclesiastics, who had and still have a kind of seminary at Peking. Meanwhile a number of Western Mongols had abandoned the scene of Kalmuck strife in the Upsa Nor, Ili, and Tarbagatai region and, hearing favourable reports of Russian tolerance, had settled on the Volga. Thus Russia retained a sort of prescriptive right to interfere politically in Mongolian affairs when the Emperor K'ienlung (1760) broke up the troublesome Kalmuck power, and decided to possess himself also of those Kalmuck 'milch-kine,' the timid settled Turki communities of the Tarim valley: Russia made herself specially disagreeable in the matter of Chinese rebels and deserters; but K'ienlung's diplomacy prevailed, and, to his great delight, even the hordes that had settled on the Volga came tumbling back to share in the *pax manchurica* so effectively established: but he was wise enough to be moderate, and not to alarm the Russians by encouraging Chinese colonists either on the Amur or on the Ili river: he wanted an unpopulated desert or barren buffer along the line.

III

There have never since been any Mongolian revolts worth mentioning, east or west, in Manchu times; but there have been several hereditarily-connected Turki rebellions, partly religious, and partly to resist exactions of their own *begs*, playing petty tyrants over their people with Manchu collusion. In these rebellious campaigns Russia again made herself disagreeable from the Chinese point of view; but from the European standpoint she only exercised her rights as a rising Mussulman power in affording political asylum to the distressed and defeated Moslems. The Yakub Beg rebellion of fifty years ago put an end for the time to all Chinese pretensions, alike in Western Mongolia and the Turki preserve; on this occasion on the whole Russia behaved with sufficient magnanimity —coupled no doubt with prudence—at a time of Manchu distress. The reconquest of these lost regions by the illustrious Chinese General Tso Tsung-t'ang a generation ago (1878) was rendered remarkable by the fact that almost all the hard fighting was done by Chinese troops from Central China: the Manchu generals and banner troops quite took a 'back seat,' and Tso Tsung-t'ang, when the reconquest was over, even resisted

a proposal of the Peking government to colonise the regained proconsular centres with Manchu troops, on the ground (diplomatically worded) that they were effete, both as fighting men and as tillers of the soil: he said they were too lazy, and would be much better employed as navvies in rectifying the erratic courses of the peccant rivers in the Peking plain. The whole of Turki-land (the Tarim valley), and also a formidable long wedge driven into North-west Mongolia, were now for the first time more or less assimilated in civil government to the 'eighteen provinces'; but still there was no Chinese migration thither on a large scale, and Russia has never had any serious reason to feel nervous on that score: she can easily take both the Tarim valley and the Ili-Kobdo provinces at any moment she chooses, and has her hands free in Europe. But during the past thirty years it has been the deliberate changed policy of the Manchu government *not* to continue Manchuria as a thinly-populated buffer state. The Russians have never felt any great dread of Chinese military prowess there, especially since the Siberian railway was built; but they have gradually learned to fear the results of persistent economic activity, in which the sluggish and simple-minded *mujik* and the careless pleasure-loving Russian artisan or trader cannot for a moment compete with the Chinese speculator, usurer, or smuggler. Hence the Russian 'inflexible determination' to do away at once with the fifty-verst free trade zone. The situation is complicated by the hold the Japanese have obtained in South Manchuria; the demands for the open door in North Manchuria made by the Western Powers; the tendency of both Japanese and Chinese to 'dish' the Russians by associating themselves with Germans and Americans; and, above all, the steady flow of Chinese migration,—ruffians and gold-hunters as well as cultivators and squatters,—across the desert on foot from the Great Wall to Urga and the Amur. Russia in self-protection could not well refuse to accept her lucky chance when it came with the Manchu abdication, and no power or combination of powers can now prevent her, if she plays her cards carefully and considerately, from providing herself with a huge, cheap, and movable army of Mongol cavalry, trained on scientific principles. The Chinese may of course argue with reason that a change of government does not 'by international law' involve a change of territory. On the other hand, the Russians may make the most of the fact that (except in so far as is above qualified) the modern Mongols have always dealt politically

with Manchus and Russia alone; never with the Chinese —except as Manchu subordinates: and it is curious to note that the republican government is now obliged to continue with Mongol princely personages the old Manchu titles which have now no meaning or value in China: there is no *Chinese* way of impressing the Mongols except by guns and rifles. But in any case international law,—even assuming it has any value in Mongolia at all,—at best merely is what the powerful agree to call it for the moment; and the history of Morocco, Tripoli, Egypt, Bosnia, the Balkans, and perhaps even Persia, shows that, as Confucius said, 'those who argue diplomatically must do it with an army ready'; and China cannot have armies without money, nor money without settled government; neither, without the confidence, good-will, and respect of the Powers.

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NOTES ON DOMAINAL ADMINISTRATION

Monastic and Collegiate

I

Evidence as to the administration of their estates by the great religious houses may be held to be of more than provincial importance, for these reasons. The system usually denominated manorial must be considered the chief phenomenon of economic history in Western Europe before the Industrial Revolution. The great religious houses, by the extent of their possessions, the strength of their institutions, and the peculiar position they occupied during an age of transition from the Roman Empire to the new Society, may be supposed to have influenced very greatly the development of that system. Their influence has hardly yet been satisfactorily estimated. The organisation of the Abbey, its officials and internal economy, its administration of the dependent villas, and its methods of earmarking revenue to certain departments of expense—to all these parallels may have existed in the government of the earlier villa; and the particular form assumed by later villa economy in France must have been shaped largely by the great religious foundations.

Evidence, then, as to the working of ecclesiastical estates at the beginning of the ninth century or of the thirteenth may be examined, as possessing an importance far beyond that which might be attributed to it as illustrating, either the domestic economy of a single foundation at a certain stage of its history, or that of the French abbeys as a whole.

The estates of the great proprietors under the later Empire, of King and noble in the Frank age, of the great abbeys which benefited by the donations of the latter, had this in common, that they consisted often of scattered villas or units of rural activity, and that the revenue which supported household of noble or community of religious was paid largely in kind. With these two characteristics are connected the chief problems which, on the economic side, mediaeval administrators had to solve.

The difficulty arising from the situation of the villas liable for the upkeep of a given centre is an interesting example of the influence of geography on economic history.

The monastic evidence shows us this influence working in two directions. Probably some roughly-marked limits, from beyond which it was not possible to draw supplies, were early defined; and the produce of outlying villas was directed to the upkeep of a branch of the mother house. Where this was not possible, such properties passed in time of war out of control of the abbey. This reason of distance was often urged in the middle ages as an excuse for leasing or selling a distant village.

Again, the fact that payment was made largely in kind, required review of the year's needs and an attempt to apportion the possible revenue to them. It is not necessary to assume an entire absence of such forethought in the rudest chief of the seventh or tenth centuries. Further, this manner of payment is closely connected with the system of earmarking—of the allocation of portions of produce received to departments of abbey expenditure represented by the officials in charge of them. And some at least of these officials are present alike in monastic, baronial and royal household.

II

The Statutes of Adalhard, 822 A.D.[1]

The Statutes of Adalhard are a set of rules and suggestions drawn up in the year 822, by one who had taken some share in the government of kingdoms, for the guidance and control of the officers to whom were entrusted the various branches of the administration and discipline of the Abbey of Corbie. A complete commentary on these statutes would require a comparative study of the institutions of the great abbeys of Europe at the beginning of the ninth century; it has yet to be written. We have selected here for brief examination sections which illustrate most directly the peculiar difficulties to which we have referred.

The first chapter[2] apportions the workers within the monastery to their respective departments. They carry on their trades in three chambers: in the first are three shoemakers, two

1. Brevis quem Adalhardus senex, ad Corbeiam regressus, anno incarnationis Domini DCCCXXII, mense januario, indictione quinta decima, imperii vero gloriosi Chluduici Augusti VIII° fieri jussit.

2. The version used is that given by Guérard in the Appendix to his *Polyptyque d'Irminon*. M. Levillain's critical examination of the texts will be found in *Le Moyen Age*, vol. XIII, p. 333. I have had the advantage of using a translation prepared under the direction of the late Mr. Frederic Seebohm.

cavalarii and a fuller: in the second, one in charge of this chamber, six smiths for coarse work, two workers in gold, two shoemakers, two shield makers, a parchment maker, an armourer, three founders. In the third, three are employed for the cellar and the porter's storehouse and the infirmary. There are also wood-sawyers employed in the bakehouse, at the middle gate and at the gatehouse of St. Albinus, with four carpenters and four masons, two leeches, and two men employed at the lodging of the *vasalli* or labourers. Without the precincts of the Monastery, the mill, fishery, cowshed, gardens, wheelwright's shop, the vineyard, fishpond, new orchard, and the sheepfold account for forty-eight men.

The arrangements, or rather the suggestions, made by Adalhard for the due provision of the daily supply of bread show remarkable care and foresight. He desires first that 750 corbs of good spelt of twelve modia each should be forthcoming each year. This quantity is to be provided by those villas specially under the *praepositus*, or, if necessary, by all the villas. Two corbs daily for the year gives a total of 730: he has added twenty corbs to allow a margin. From the two corbs he may reasonably expect to have ten measures of flour of which each measure will make thirty loaves, giving a total of 300 loaves per diem. The *familia* numbers never less than 300, is often 350, and may rise at times to more than 400. Adalhard provides, then, for four measures more of flour or 120 loaves, not now from the villas but from the mills. The total is now 420 loaves daily. Even this number is not considered sufficient for all emergencies, and by the addition of another daily measure of flour from the mills he reaches a grand total of 450 loaves from fifteen measures of flour. He has arranged, then, for a supply of 5,475 measures of flour yearly. To this he adds a further twenty-five measures to make 5,500. Of this total quantity, 3,650 measures are spelt from the villas, the remaining 1,850 measures are from the mills. The rest of the chapter contains minute instructions for the avoidance of waste. The *Custos panum* is to consider carefully the case of the *Provendarii*, of the Brethren, of the *Vasalli*, of the *Pulsantes*, and by close scrutiny to make himself competent to report on the working of the arrangement; and, 'si ipse aliam rationem meliorem ad hoc probandum invenire potest, cum Dei gratia faciat.'

The first chapter of the second book is headed 'Haec est ordinatio hortorum.' That the Brethren who are in charge

of the gardens may work them conveniently and to the common profit, the Mayors of seven villas are called upon. They are thus distributed : two to the garden which is at the first gate near the fish-stews, one to that at the second gate, two each to those at the third and fourth gates respectively. They must each provide, every third year, a plough with harness, and every fourth year a harrow : they must construct and repair buildings and hedges. From mid-April to mid-October, when weeding is necessary, they must come to consult the *Hortolanus* of their garden every twenty days, to ask when hoeing will be needed. Whenever the *familia* of the monastery are assembled for weeding, the mayor or *Decanus* must be present to superintend. The *Hortolanus* receives carts as required from the wheelwright's shop and tools from the *Camerarius* : he distributes rations (received from the bread-ward and the cellarer) to the gardeners.

The ninth chapter of the second book contains the plan sketched by Adalhard, whereby the difficulties connected with the collection of tithe from distant villages may be overcome. It is sufficiently clear that from Waliacus and Montiacus, Haiono Villaris, Domnus Aglinus and other places, it is almost impossible to convey tithes taken in sheaves, or in loads as those of hay, ' sine gravi afflictione familiae.' Further, if threshing take place in those villages, and only the grain be carted, the straw so necessary to the Abbey in winter is useless. Adalhard considers that the matter is not without remedy and proposes this plan. The villas are to be arranged in pairs. Waliacus and Vernus serve as examples : the former is one of those lying too far from Corbie for easy collection of tithe. In Waliacus, then, the produce which can be counted by sheaves is to be tithed and tested, to see how many sheaves yield one *modus*. And this is to be done separately for each field, because of the well-known differences in quality of soil. God-fearing men must be chosen in each villa for this task. They will be able to state how many measures of each kind of grain should fairly represent the tithe. Hay, too, must be carefully considered in the same way. When Vernus has delivered its own tithe at the monastery, the list prepared at Waliacus comes into use ; and on the basis of this Vernus pays a second tithe of hay and spelt, equivalent to the one due from Waliacus, after trial has been made of the productivity of the various crops in the latter village.

The Porter is to provide for the conveyance of this second

tithe : he is to hire wagons at a price, according to the season and the price for hiring carts. It is not his business either to examine personally the tithe at Waliacus or to reckon the equivalent at Vernus. That duty must be performed by trustworthy men, chosen by the *Praepositus* and the *Actor* of the villas.

Other sixteen villas are then grouped, generally in pairs, though in two cases two nearer villas represent for this purpose one further away. Eight villas are then enumerated which are to pay their own tithe : they are not too far distant, or else their tithe may be useful to compensate for loss through unsuccessful farming or bad weather in other places. Spelt and barley are to be conveyed from the villa in which they are produced 'ex jussione dominica,' and the same applies to flax, etc. It is the business of the *Praepositus* to arrange for the storage of crops; four villas are suggested as suitable for supplying materials for this purpose. The matter of distance is referred to again in the last chapter of the Statutes, which deals with the tithes due from the 'vassi vel casati homines.' They are to convey them to the abbey of their own goodwill. If the *beneficium* is too far distant for sheaves or hay to be conveyed without great difficulty, the tenant must note the amount of tithe and arrange with the porter as to sale and payment of the price. The porter may prefer to hire wagons and bring the produce to the monastery at his own cost. In all doubtful matters those concerned must betake themselves to Corbie, where they will learn how to act.

It should be said in conclusion that the grouping proposed by Adalhard is not easy to reconcile with the geographical position of the villas, so far as they can be identified. Thus Haiono Villaris and Tanedas, which are coupled in the statutes, are almost exactly equidistant from Corbie if, as seems likely, they may be identified with Hénencourt and Thennes; and Cipiliacus and Cirisiacus, the modern Chipilly and Cérisy-Gailly, placed among the villas not arranged in pairs, are only slightly nearer to Corbie than Hénencourt. The situation of Vadencourt and Forceville (Walhono Curtis and Fortiaca Villa) at seven and ten and a half miles respectively from Corbie, and of Ville and Talmas (Villa and Templum Martis) at six and eleven miles, falls in fairly well with Adalhard's scheme. In the latter case, however, the payment from Talmas to Villa would involve a journey in a straight line of thirteen miles, that is, a greater distance than that traversed from Talmas to Corbie direct.

There is no evidence to show that the scheme was ever put into practice: it appears likely that the rich opportunity it offered for disputes between the individual villas thus paired would prove a more serious difficulty than that presented by situation.

III

The Obediences of the Chapter of St. Omer in the thirteenth century

There exists in the Archives of the Cathedral Chapter of St. Omer a document[1] giving details of the revenue of the Canons in the thirteenth century. Like the Statutes of Adalhard it shows methods of dealing with payments, largely in kind, drawn from scattered estates, and may serve, in some degree, as a commentary on the ninth century evidence. The opening sentences may be thus translated :—

To the Church of St. Omer there belong 12 obediences,[2] which furnish each year, at fixed dates, to the dean and canons of the said church corn, oats, money and other small dues according to arrangements made in ancient times.

A summary of what is said as to the services paid by two of these obediences will serve to illustrate the general method of description employed.

Blendecques is the first in order of these obediences, because it begins to supply bread for the cellarer of the canons on the sixth of the calends of October, and its service lasts fifteen days to the fifteenth of the ides of October. It consists in furnishing corn and eight 'Bracelets,'[3] with, in addition, seven days during which Blendecques is called upon to enable the Provost to receive in fitting manner and to exercise hospitality towards the vassals, who come to the Church of St. Omer for the feast of the Translation of the Holy Patron, at which their presence is obligatory. The whole service of Blendecques amounts in corn to sixteen razières and a quarter, measure of the St. Omer market, and in oats to eighty-three hodes and three-quarters.

1. Liasse, 827, *Archives of the Chapter of St. Omer.* It is an eighteenth century copy of a document, of date probably early in the thirteenth century. It is accompanied by a French version and a commentary in eighteenth century handwriting.

2. Duodecim obedientiae . . . quae trescensus vocantur. See Ducange under 'Trecensus'; and cf. French 'tresfoncier,' 'tréfonds,' etc.

3. 'Cum 8 bracellis.' The eighteenth century commentator suggests 'ring-shaped loaves,' and under Eska we have 'et tunc dat Ricspoud 1 de praedictis bracellis et tunc praepositus remanet debens 12 bracellos de quibus dat in Scti Stephani 2 panes pro 1 bracello.'

And if it should happen that Blendecques is in default for these payments, then the *obedientarius* must pay 5s. for each day that the service is wanting.

Serques begins its service at the ides of November, and furnishes bread to the cellarer of the canons for eighteen days to the calends of December, to the amount of twenty-seven razières including two 'bracelets' with fifty-nine hodes and one picotin of oats; and in money, including the cost of two portions of wine, the sum of five pounds; it pays also 1,000 herrings.

We may now group the obediences so as to show the time during which they are liable for supplies.

1.	Blendeka serving	from	6 cal. oct.	to 15 ides oct.	= 15	days
2.	Setkeka	,,	5 id. oct.	,, 8 cal. nov.	= 14	,,
3.	Rumiliacus	,,	8 cal. nov.	,, id. nov.	= 19	,,
4.	Sergerka	,,	id. nov.	,, cal. dec.	= 18	,,
5.	Eska	,,	cal. dec.	,, cal. jan.	= 31	,,
6.	Teloneum	,,	cal. jan.	,, cal. feb.	= 31	,,
7.	Billeka	,,	cal. feb.	,, cal. mar.	= 28	,,
8.	S. Martin	,,	cal. mar.	,, prid. id. ap.	= 42	,,
9.	Rickespoud	,,	2 id. ap.	,, 9 cal. jun.	= 42	,,
10.	Alveringhem	,,	9 cal. jun.	,, 8 id. jul.	= 45	,,
11.	Bullighesele	,,	8 id. jul.	,, 11 cal. sep.	= 45	,,
12.	Brokerka	,,	11 cal. sep.	,, 6 cal. oct.	= 35	,,

The sixth obedience is the Teloneum or Tonlieu of St. Omer, which belonged, in part, at this epoch, to the Chapter. It paid, besides the usual wheat and oats, a supply of herrings at the beginning of Lent.

The remaining eleven obediences are villages in the region of St. Omer, and can be identified with the following :—

1. Blendecques, 2. Setques, 3. Remilly, 4. Serques, 5. Ecques, 7. Bilques, 8. St. Marten au Laert, 9. Rexpoede, 10. Alveringhem, 11. Bollezeele, 12. Broukerque. Of these, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 lie within a circle of radius seven miles with centre at St. Omer: the order in which they occur in the list, and in which they are called upon to perform their service, has no relation to their distance from the Church. Bollezeele, Broukerque, Rexpoede, and Alveringhem are distant, in a straight line, roughly, seven and a half, fourteen, eighteen, and twenty-seven miles respectively from the same centre.

With regard to the services, whether in wheat, oats, loaves, fish, 'brewings' of beer, portions of wine, or in money, it will

suffice to say that there is no apparent uniform ratio as between (*a*) the distance of obedience and service due; or (*b*) the duration and amount of service.

A summary of payments which follows the list of obediences contains the statement that the wheat is delivered each day *in refectorio*, but nothing is said as to the arrangements for transport. In two cases payments are joint. Remilly and Serques are together responsible for 50l. 9s. 4d. and three portions of wine of the value of 17s. each.

The case of Ecques and Alveringhem is less simple. The former village is about seven miles from St. Omer in the direction of Thérouanne: the latter beyond the road leading from Ypres to Furnes. Yet these two places, at least thirty-five miles apart, are jointly responsible for a payment of wheat, oats, etc.

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LIVERPOOL

ST. JOHN OF BRIDLINGTON

† 10 October, 1379

In a short paper which I contributed to the recently published *Mélanges Bémont*[1] on ' The Liturgical Credentials of a Forgotten English Saint,' I brought together a number of gleanings from fifteenth century manuscripts of a liturgical character bearing on the right of the alleged last English canonized Saint to a place in the Calendar. The paper arose from my discovery some time ago, in the Registers of Pope Boniface IX, preserved in the Vatican Archives, of that Pope's bull of canonization, dated 24 September, 1401, of John of Twenge,[2] an Austin canon and afterwards prior of Bridlington in Yorkshire, who died on 10 October, 1379, and also of the same Pope's mandate, dated 25 September, 1401, ordering the translation of the relics of the new Saint.[3] As bulls of canonization are not met with every day, I turned to the *Acta Sanctorum*[4] in order to learn whether the bull of Pope Boniface had been printed there or elsewhere. Far from finding that the bull had been printed, I found that the writer of the account of St. John in the *Acta*, the late eighteenth century Premonstratension canon Fonson, was not only ignorant of its existence, but, rejecting the testimony of the chronicler Walsingham and other evidence in proof of the canonization,[5] denied that the bull had ever existed. He came, in fact, to the conclusion that the statement which the several Congregations of the Canons Regular have repeated in their printed *Officia Propria* for nearly the last three hundred years, namely, that St. John was canonized by Boniface IX, is without foundation.

In my paper in the *Mélanges* I examined only a single category

1. *Mélanges d' Histoire offerts à M. Charles Bémont par ses Amis et ses Elèves*, Paris, 1913, pp. 365-371.
2. i.e. Thwing, about eight miles inland from Bridlington.
3. See more fully in the *Mélanges*, p. 365.
4. *Acta SS.*, Oct. vol. V (1786 and 1868), pp. 135-137.
5. Walsingham definitely states that the ceremony of the translation of the body of St. John took place on 11 May, 1404. See more fully in the *Mélanges*, pp. 365-366, notes.

of evidence not used by Fonson, namely, that of fifteenth century liturgical manuscripts—calendars, breviaries, missals, etc., and showed that they fully bear out the claim of the printed Offices.[1] There are several other classes of evidence unknown to Fonson, with which I hope to deal elsewhere. I propose here to do no more than submit several miscellaneous pieces of contemporary evidence, more especially of an official character.

The first is of local provenance. Amongst some early fifteenth century verses added at the end of a late twelfth century collection of epitaphs, etc., formerly belonging to Bridlington priory, occurs the following :—

> Henrici quarti quinto dominique sub annis
> Bridelyngton decorat translacio sancta Johannis,

accompanied by the commentary : ' In istis duobus versibus patet quod sanctus Johannes fuit translatus anno domini millesimo cccc$^{mo.}$ iiii$^{to.,}$ et anno vero Henrici quarti quinto.'[2]

Comparing the year here given for the translation with the date, 11 May, 1404, given by Walsingham, the ' annus domini ' is seen to be the same in both. Moreover, the fifth year of Henry IV began on 30 September, 1403, and ended on 29 September, 1404, so that May 11 in the fifth year fell in 1404. Walsingham's date for the translation is thus fully confirmed by these local and contemporary Bridlington verses.

Turning now to purely secular evidence, we find the highest testimony in the realm at our service, that of the Crown itself. An undated but very early fifteenth century licence under the Privy Seal empowers the prior and convent of B[ridlington] to send money to Rome in order to pay the fees required by their two proctors at the Roman court for the completion

1. I did not, of course, claim in the *Mélanges* that the liturgical evidence would alone suffice to prove that St. John was canonized. It was not necessary, therefore, to point out that, in the absence of the actual bull of canonization itself, or of such other equivalent proof as that furnished by the Crown in the Patent Rolls (see below), the evidence of the liturgical manuscripts, strong though it is, could not claim to be more than cumulative testimony in favour of the canonization having taken place. Examples are, in fact, not wanting of the premature rendering of liturgical honours to candidates for the honour of sanctity who were never actually canonized, as for instance in the case of ' Blessed ' Richard Scrope, the rebel and ' martyr ' archbishop of York. For an account of the miracles and votive offerings, relics and popular cultus of this early fifteenth century St. Thomas Becket of the north, and especially the prayer in a Bodleian liturgical manuscript : ' Pro nobis ora quesumus, Ricarde martir Christi,' see Wylie, *Hist. of England under Henry the Fourth*, vol. II (1894), pp. 355 *sqq.* Another instance of a premature cultus is that of King Henry VI (see ibid., p. 357, note), whilst another popular saint, Dorothy, the patroness of Pomesania in Prussian Poland, who died in 1394, narrowly escaped being canonized by Boniface IX and his successors, and only failed for lack of funds (ibid., pp. 364 *sqq.*).

2. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Digby 53, fol. 68$^{v.}$ The metre required ' translacio sancta Johannis ' rather than the more natural ' translacio sancti Johannis.'

of the process of canonization of ' J. T[wenge], iadys priour,' inasmuch as it has been granted by the Pope.[1]

It is thus proved on the authority of the Crown that the process of canonization, which is otherwise known to have been initiated in England,[2] and to have been duly introduced and prosecuted at the Roman court,[3] had at the date of the Privy Seal licence been carried through its several stages, that the canonization had been granted by the Pope, that the decree was ready to be issued, that, in short, all that was now needed was the money to pay the fees for the expedition of the bulls. Little room is now left to doubt that the bull of canonization was formally promulgated. Yet it might still be objected by supercritics of the type of Fonson that the issue of a licence to send money does not prove that the money was actually sent, or that it arrived at Rome, or that, even if it were sent and arrived, the decree was published. It might still be held that even at the eleventh hour a hitch may have occurred, that the decree may after all never have been promulgated, and that St. John may therefore never have been formally canonized.

To remove this last possibility of doubt the Crown again comes forward as a witness. On 9 July, 1403, the year before the alleged translation, Henry IV in a grant to one of his knights reserved a yearly payment of 110 marks ' to the prior and convent of Bridlyngton for making a new shrine in honour of the body of St. John de Thweyng, late prior of Bridlyngton, now canonised.'[4] At the date of this grant, therefore, 9 July, 1403, the canonization was, on the authority of the Crown, an accomplished fact. The decree had consequently been promulgated some time after the unknown date of the Privy Seal licence and before 9 July, 1403. The date was at any rate between 4 October, 1400 (when John Gisburn got his safe-conduct from the Crown[5]), and 9 July, 1403. The actual

1. The licence occurs on fol. 7$^{v.}$ of Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 24,062, which is a '*Formularium* of documents passed under the Privy Seal, *temp.* Rich. ii—Hen. v, and written by Thomas Hocclyf the poet.' Hoccleve or Occleve (1370?—1450?) was in fact a clerk in the Privy Seal Office for twenty-eight years. Abbot Gasquet kindly gave me the reference to the licence in the Brit. Mus. manuscript. It will be found printed at full length below.

2. Viz., in the shape of a commission issued by the vicar-general of the archbishop of York on 26 July, 1386, for the purpose of examining witnesses in regard to the miracles alleged to have taken place at the tomb of the late prior and elsewhere; printed in Raine, *Historical Letters and Papers from the Northern Registers*, Rolls Series, 1873, p. 420.

3. See in Rymer's *Foedera*, under date 4 October, 1400, a safe-conduct granted by the Crown in favour of John Gisburn, a canon of Bridlington, going as the envoy of the prior and convent to the Roman court for the purpose of prosecuting the canonization.

4. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Henry IV, 1401-1405, p. 248.

5. See above, note 3.

date of the bull of canonization was, in fact, as has been mentioned,[1] 24 September, 1401, and the making of the new shrine was doubtless begun soon afterwards, in preparation for the solemn ceremony of translation which, as recorded by contemporary calendars[2] and chroniclers,[3] and confirmed by the Bridlington verses, took place[4] on 11 May, 1404, in the presence, as Walsingham adds, of the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle.

Circ. 1401. *Licence to send money to the court of Rome as fees for the canonization of St. John of Bridlington.* (*Brit. Mus., Add. MS.* 24,062, *f.* 7ᵛ).

Pur faire eschange de tiele somme vers la court de Rome.

Roy au chancelier etc. Moustrez nous ont noz chers en dieu les priour et couent de B.[5] que come ils par M. N. vicaire de leglise de G.[6] et W. M. concanoun du dit priour leur procureurs eient de long temps pursuy en la court de Rome pur la canonizacion de J. T.[7] iadys priour illoeques, la quele lour est ore grauntez par nostre seint pere le pape, et la quele ne puet estre execute sanz ce que le dit priour face enuoier a mesmes les procureurs une certaine somme a la court de Rome susdite pur lexploit de la dite busoigne, a ce que nous sumes enformez. Si auons de nostre grace especiale et a la supplicacion des diz priour et couent grauntez a eux licence de faire eschange de tiele somme deuers la court susdite, et auons aussi grauntez as diz procureurs qils puissent demorer en la dite court tanque a laccomplissement de la canonizacion susdite, aucune ordonance faicte au contraire nient contreesteant. Et pur ce vous mandons que sur ce etc. en due forme, preignant seurete souffissante du dit priour en noun de ses diz procureurs qils durant lour demoere en la court susdite nattempteront riens que sera preiudiciel a nous ne a nostre regalie contre les leys usages ne estatutz de nostre roialme. Donne etc.

J. A. TWEMLOW

Liverpool

1. Above, p. 128.
2. *Mélanges*, p. 367.
3. e.g. Walsingham, see above, p. 128, note 5.
4. See above, p. 129.
5. i.e. Bridlington.
6. Probably Ganton in the East Riding, about seven miles south-west of Scarborough. The rectory belonged to Bridlington priory (*Liber Regis*, p. 1131).
7. i.e. John of Twenge or Thwing, the secular name of St. John.

HENRY THE EIGHTH'S NAVY

The following MS. account and the drawings which accompany it were made in 1782 by the well-known antiquary Thomas Kerrich, F.S.A., Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Librarian to the University. From him they descended, through his daughter Frances Margaretta, wife of the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, F.S.A., to their son the late Albert Hartshorne, F.S.A., sometime Editor of the *Archaeological Journal*. Kerrich was a most accomplished and accurate draughtsman, and his skill was inherited by both Mrs. Hartshorne[1] and his grandson Albert Hartshorne,[2] to whom I am indebted for this document and for permission to print it. Kerrich died on May 10, 1820, aged eighty.

Kerrich's MS. is headed *An Abstract of Mr. Pepys's Abstract of Anthony Anthony's Navy Royall of England composed* A.D. 1546. This is followed by Pepys's heading :—

An Abstract
of a Declaration of the
Navy Royall of England ;
composed by
Anthony Anthony,
One of the Officers of the Ordnance,
& by him presented to
King Henry 8th Ann. R. R. 38. *D^ni* 1546,
in 3 Parchment Rolls, containing

Viz^t—*The*
- 1st ——— *The Shyppes.*
- 2d ——— *The Galliasses.*
- 3d ——— *Pynasses.* / *Roo-Baergys.*

1. It is not generally known that the illustrations in her husband's *Sepulchral Remains in Northamptonshire*, 1840, are by her.

2. His beautiful drawings of the Effigies of Northamptonshire, now in the Northampton Museum, may be cited as specimens of his work.

Shipps — *No.*	*Quality*	*No.*	*Tuns*	*Tunnage*	*Souldiers*	*Marriners*	*Souldiers & Marriners*	*Gunnars*	*Total of the Men*
20[1]	Shyppes[2]—viz.	1	of 1000	7940	2337	2314	.....	386	5037
		2	— 700						
		2	— 600						
		2	— 500						
		1	— 450						
		3	— 400						
		2	— 300						
		1	— 250						
		1	— 100						
		1	— 90						
		1	— 80						
		2	— 60						
15	Galliaſses.....	2	— 450	3740	780[3]	1436	.....	304	2520
		3	— 300						
		2	— 240						
		5	— 200						
		1	— 180						
		2	— 140						
10	Pynnaſses	4	— 80	515	.....	432	.....	41	473
		4	— 40						
		1	— 20						
		1	— 15						
13	Roo = Baergys—each—20 ...			260	.....	464	.....	52	516
58[4]	Totall			12455	3117	4646	.....	783	8546

1. Really 19 here, but there are 20 in the original Roll.
2. The Ship (or Galleon), Galleas, and Pinnass, correspond respectively to the Line-of-battle Ship, Frigate, and Corvette of later days.
3. In the MS. this number is erroneously placed in the fourth column.
4. Really 57 here, but 58 in the original Roll.

An Exemplification of the
Draughts
of several of the Vessels before mentioned,
the most distant (of each Quality)[1] *in their*
Tunnages & Force;
As they (and y^e^ whole) stand drawn and illuminated[2]
in the
Originall Rolls.

THE LARGEST SHIP: *The Harry Grace à Dieu.*

Tunnage			1000
Souldiers	349	}	700
Marriners	301		
Gonnars	50		

[Colours.

Hull: timber colour[3] with light brown[4] bottom.
Awnings: white.
Decoration on poop and fore castles: scarlet[5] and yellow, \\\\\\, //////, \\\\\\.
Shields in waist: St. George's cross.
Guns: very light Tudor green[6].
Anchor: scarlet.
Crown at end of bowsprit: gold, with a scarlet cap.
Masts, yards, bowsprit, and all other spars: scarlet.
Tops: white.
Shields in tops: St. George's cross and Tudor green alternately.
Flags on hull (reckoning from the bows): (1) Tudor livery colours, white and green [*Barry argent and vert*]; (2) France, shown with a single lys[7]; (3) Yellow and white; (4) St. George's cross, impaling green with a yellow roundle in the centre; (5) France; (6) As No. 3; (7 and 8) As No. 1; (9) As No. 3; (10) St. George's cross, impaling blue; (11) France as before, impaling green with a yellow roundle in the centre; (12) As No. 1; (13) As No. 3; (14) St. George's cross.
Streamers: St. George's cross, impaling Tudor livery colours in the fly.
At the mainmast-head: a standard of France and England quarterly, impaling St. George's cross.
Jolly-boat: timber colour and brown bottom, inside and outside.]

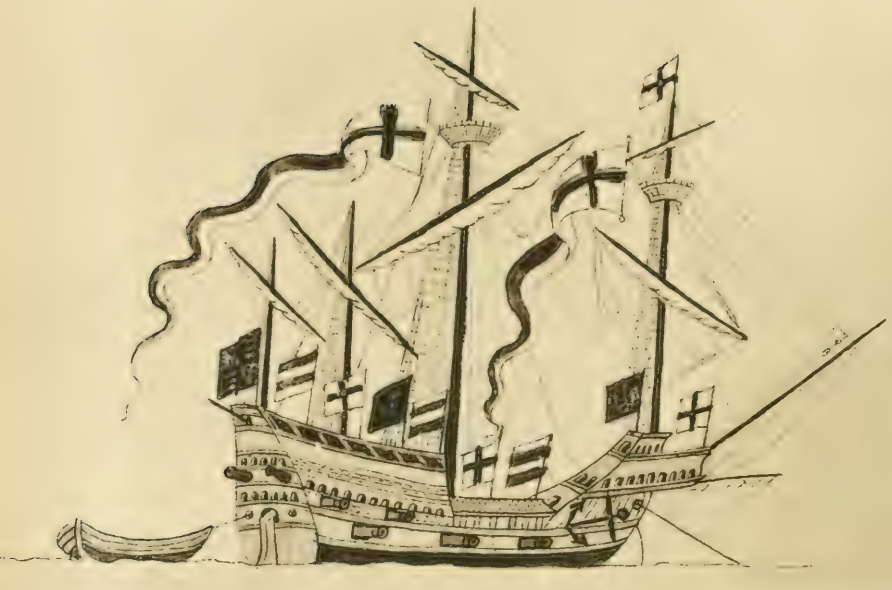
1. i.e. the largest and the smallest vessel in each class.
2. It is unfortunate that these delicately painted drawings could not be reproduced here in their colours: but they are given with each vessel.
3. Produced by a light wash of Gamboge mixed with a very little Indian red.
4. Indian-ink and Burnt Sienna will give this.
5. All reds are Vermilion. The dark is the Scarlet.
6. A mixture of heraldic yellow and blue will give Tudor green.
7. As often on early coins.

The Harry Grace a Dieu

Tunnage 1000.

Men { doz.[10] 24 / round 301 / Boumach 24 } 350

Shyppes.



The George.

Tunnage 60

Men { Soulds^rs — 18 / Marrin.^rs — 18 } 40 / Gonnars - 4

THE SMALLEST SHIP : *The George.*[1]

Tunnage		60
Souldyers	18	40
Marriners	18	
Gonnars	4	

[Colours.

Hull : as the *Harry Grace à Dieu.*

Awning in waist : white.

Quarter-deck bulwarks : scarlet and yellow[2].

Guns : broadside battery, steel blue ; stern-chasers green, as in the *Harry Grace à Dieu.*

Anchor : scarlet.

Spars : all scarlet, as in the *Harry Grace à Dieu.*

Tops : white.

Banners on hull (reckoning from the bows) : (1) St. George's cross, with a yellow border to it ; (2) France, shown with a single lys ; (3) White and yellow ; (4) As No. 1 ; (5) Tudor livery colours ; (6) Blue charged with HR in gold ; (7) St. George's cross with a yellow roundle in the centre of the cross ; (8) As No. 5 ; (9) The Royal Banner of England.

Streamers : As on the *Harry*, but the St. George's cross has a yellow border.

At the foremast-head : the banner of St. George, with a yellow roundle in the centre of the cross.

Jolly-boat : timber colour and brown bottom.]

1. Named from the Patron Saint of England ?
2. The dark is the scarlet.

THE LARGEST GALLEAS : *The Graunde Masterys.*

Tunnage		450
Souldyers and Marriners	220	250
Gonnars	30	

[Colours.

Hull : all timber colour, except the brown bottom.

Awnings in waist : white.

Shields in waist : St. George's cross and plain white alternately.

Fore and aft awnings : white.

Beak : timber colour.

Guns : pale green.

Anchor : scarlet.

Spars : all scarlet as before.

Tops : white, as before.

Banners on hull (reckoning from the bows) : (1) The Royal Banner of England ; (2) Tudor livery colours ; (3) St. George's cross with a yellow border to it ; (4) As No. 2 ; (5) As No. 3 ; (6) As No. 2 ; (7) As No. 3 ; (8) As No. 2 ; (9) As No. 3 ; (10) As No. 2 ; (11 and 12) As No. 3 ; (13) As No. 1.

Streamers : as on the *George.*

At the foremast-head : the banner of St. George with a yellow border to the cross, as everywhere in this vessel.

Jolly-boat : as that of the *George.*]

[illegible]

[illegible] 451

Men { [illegible] 220 / [illegible] 30 } 250

THE SMALLEST GALLEAS : *The Dragon*[1].

Tunnage	140
Marryners Gonnars	110

[Colours.

Hull : as that of *The Graunde Masterys*[2].

Awning in waist : white.

Beak : as that of *The Graunde Masterys*.

Guns : as those „ „ „

Spars : „ „ „ „

Tops : „ „ „ „

Banners on hull (reckoning from the bows) : (1) Tudor livery colours ; (2) St. George's cross[3] ; and so on alternately.

Streamers : as on the *Harry Grace à Dieu*.

At the foretopmast-head : the banner of St. George.

Jolly-boat : as before.]

1. Named from the Tudor Badge.
2. There appears to be red on the poop-castle, as in the *Harry*, but none is shown in the drawing
3. There is no yellow border to the cross throughout this vessel.

THE LARGEST PINNASS : *The Phawcon*[1].

Tunnage		80
Marriners	54	60
Gonnars	6	

[Colours.

Hull : all timber colour, but a light brown bottom.

Awning in waist : white.

Guns : light green.

Anchor : scarlet.

Spars : all timber colour.

Maintop : white.

Banners on hull (reckoning from bows) : Tudor livery colours and St. George's cross[2] alternately.

Streamers : St. George's cross[2] with Tudor fly.

At mainmast-head : banner of St. George[2].

Jolly-boat : as the hull.]

THE SMALLEST PINNASS : *The Hare.*

Tunnage		15
Marriners	28	30
Gunnars	2	

[Colours.

As those of *The Phawcon.*

1. Named from one of the Royal badges.
2. No yellow border to the cross.

The Phawcon.

Tunnage - - - - - - - 80.
Men - - { Marriñ - - - 70
Sommars - - 10

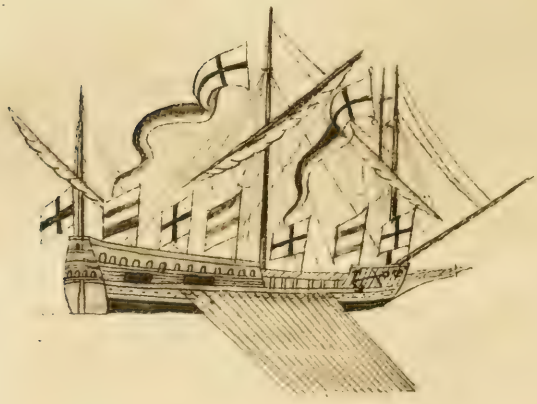
The Hare.

Tunnage - - - - - - - - - 15.
Men - - { Marriñ - - 28 } 30.
Sommars - - 2 }

Roo=Baccaras.

The Double Rose.

Tunnage . . . 20.
Men { Marin. 30 } 43
Gunners 4 }



The Portquillice

Tunnage . . . . . 20.
Men { Marin. 34 } 38
Gunners 4 }

ROW-BARGES

1. *The Double Rose.*[1]

Tunnage		20
Marriners	39	43
Gunnars	4	

[Colours.

As those of the *Phawcon.* The sweeps are timber colour.]

2. *The Portquillice.*[2]

Tunnage		20
Marriners	34	38
Gunnars	4	

[Colours.

As those of *The Double Rose.*]

These illustrations settle in the affirmative the question as to whether the row-barges carried sails.

1. That is the Tudor Rose of York and Lancaster: a white rose superimposed upon a red rose.
2. From the Tudor badge of the Portcullis, which came from the Beauforts.

Galley

The Galie Subtile.

Tunnage		200
Marryners	242	250
Gonnars	8	

[Colours.

Hull (aft) : timber colour and yellow (the latter is the darker) ; bottom, dark brown.

Ladder : timber colour and yellow (the latter is the darker).

Beak : timber colour and yellow (the latter is the darker) ; scarlet underneath ; the point is yellow.

Bows : as the hull.

Awning at bows : yellow.

Stern post : brown.

Stern : as the hull ; the darkest parts are dark brown, as the bottom of the hull.

Two Roses on stern : gold with scarlet outlines.

Canopy at stern : outside, yellow, with Royal Arms and St. George's cross ; inside, scarlet ; dragon, green with scarlet tongue.

Guns in bows : the big gun steel blue ; the two small guns green.

Shields along gunwale : St. George's cross ; France and England quarterly ; azure a lys or ; blue charged with H or R in gold.

Mast : scarlet.

Yard : timber colour.

Top : white and yellow (the latter is the darker).

Sweeps : white and scarlet ,, ,, ,,

Flags on hull (reckoning from the bows) : (1) Tudor livery colours ; (2) St. George, with white fly ; (3) Blue, with a yellow lys, and h, for Henry, in the fly ; (4) St. George, with white fly, and yellow border to the cross ; (5) As No. 1 ; (6) As No. 4 ; (7) blue, with R. H. in yellow ; (8) The Arms of England, which are partly repeated on the fly ; (9) St. George's cross, with Tudor fly.

Streamers : St. George's cross with yellow border and Tudor fly.

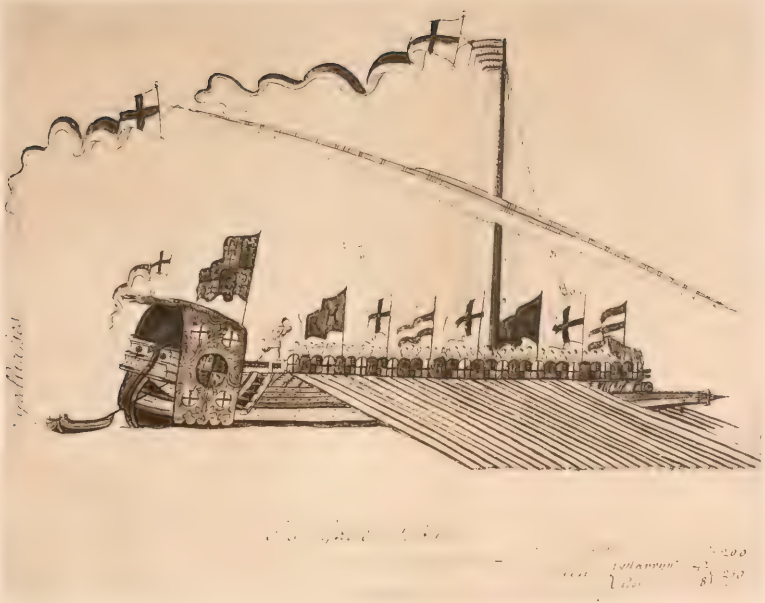
Jolly-boat : yellow gunwale, timber-coloured sides, brown bottom.

Master : in white, with a red cross on his breast.

Crew : in very light pink.[1]]

1. It is possible that in 132 years some of these colours may have faded.

Gallinæ



(Note by Kerrich)

N.B.—That the Galliafse Part of the foregoing Abstract & Draughts was taken from y^e^ Originall Roll thereof resting in y^e^ K^s^ Library at St. James's, lent to M^r^ Pepys by his friend Mr. Thynn, Library-Keeper there: As the other 2 were from the Originall Rolls, given to M^r^ Pepys by K. Charles y^e^ 2^d^*[1]— now preserved in the Pepysian Library in Magdalen College, Cambridge.* 1782. *T. K.*

F. P. BARNARD

Liverpool

1. In 1680.

LIVERPOOL AND IRISH POLITICS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

I

The first band of Norman adventurers, Fitzstephen, Maurice Fitzgerald, and Maurice de Prendergast, set sail for Ireland in the late spring of 1189 from Milford Haven, and landed at Bannouwh Bay near Waterford. Later, King Henry II, and John, count of Mortain, with new adventurers crossed and re-crossed St. George's Channel between Wexford, Waterford, and Milford Haven.[1] These early Norman settlements were made in the part of Ireland facing South Wales. Hence through the ports of Pembrokeshire, and through Bristol, a port long frequented by ships of Leinster, would pass to and fro lords, vassals, and men-at-arms; then, as the settlers became more numerous, viceroys, justices, and their subordinates.

In June 1210 King John sailed from Milford Haven 'with a fleet hard to count,' touching land in the neighbourhood of Waterford. He returned three months later from Dublin to Fishguard.[2] Still, it is possible that the purpose of his grant of burghal privileges to Liverpool in 1207 was to provide a new and convenient port for shipping men and stores across the Irish Sea.[3] However, in 1230, Chester and Liverpool were given freedom of intercourse with Ireland by a grant of Henry III to Ranulf, earl of Chester. During the thirteenth century, ships of Chester began to be used for conveying corn, deer, and treasure from the King's lands in Ireland, while an armed galley was sent from Chester laden with provisions for prosecuting the ceaseless wars on the Irish clans.[4] Yet Piers Gaveston, banished to Ireland in 1308, sailed from Haverford West, and Mortimer from Bristol to Youghal in the spring of 1317,[5] the southern route being the more frequented until the concentration of the English round Dublin, after the Bruce invasion of Ireland, made the northern ports more convenient.

1. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hiberniae* (Rolls Series), pp. 230-1, 273, 275, 280-1, 286; *Annals of the Four Masters*, ed. O'Donovan, III, pp. 66-7.
2. *Four Masters*, III, p. 162, and *note*; *Annals of Ulster* (Rolls Series), II, p. 251; J. T. Gilbert, *History of the Viceroys of Ireland*, pp. 71-5.
3. There is no documentary evidence of the use of Chester or Liverpool in connection with this expedition, but Baines, *History of Liverpool* (London and Liverpool, 1852), p. 85, gives some evidence for the year 1212.
4. *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, ed. Sweetman, 1171-1251, nos. 2428, 2671, 2934; 1252-81, no. 293.
5. Gilbert, *Viceroys*, pp. 127, 141-2.

With the accession of Edward III, Holyhead, Chester, and Liverpool first became prominent as ports for the embarkation of troops and the conveyance of Irish viceroys, their retinues and stores across the turbulent Irish Channel. For the transportation of Lionel, earl of Ulster, and his army in 1361, all the ships of the coast between Lancaster and the Severn, with those of the Anglo-Irish ports, were brought to the Dee and the Mersey. The earl and his retinue reached Liverpool on August 14; the Lancashire levies on September 6. Lionel and the main body of the fleet reached Dublin on the fifteenth.[1] In the following year all the chartered ships, including ships of Chester and of the great port of Bristol, sailed from the Mersey with reinforcements.[2] Lionel, crossing to Dublin a second time in 1364, again passed through Liverpool with his men and horses.[3]

During Richard II's reign, a viceroy, an Irish chief-justice, a constable of Dublin Castle, officials, men-at-arms, archers, and horses came to Chester and Liverpool on their way to Ireland.[4] From these ports, too, 240 men-at-arms and archers set sail in 1391 to defend the important stronghold of Carrickfergus, threatened by the warlike septs of Ulster.[5] But after Art MacMurragh had been hailed as king by the Leinster Irish, Richard II crossed with an army of 34,000 men from Milford Haven to Waterford.[6] The same route was used again in 1399 when the King made his second expedition against MacMurragh, still supreme in the mountains of Wicklow. But ships of North Wales, Lancashire, and Cheshire were assembled at Chester and Liverpool for the transportation of men, horses, and stores from the northern counties.[7] Finally, the news that Henry, duke of Lancaster had landed in Yorkshire reached the King in Ireland. The earl of Salisbury, despatched to raise troops in Wales, landed at Conway, and eighteen days later Richard himself returned through Waterford and Milford, too late to save his throne.

1. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1358-61, pp. 17, 19, 21; Record Office, K.R., Exchequer Accounts, $\frac{28}{20}$, $\frac{28}{21}$; *Four Masters*, III, pp. 618-9, *note*. The references to the Exchequer documents were kindly given by Mr. A. E. Prince.
2. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1361-4, pp. 204, 227; K.R., Exch. Accts., $\frac{28}{23}$.
3. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1361-4, pp. 415, 420, 518; 1364-7, pp. 19, 29; K.R., Exch. Accts., $\frac{29}{11}$.
4. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1385-9, pp. 12, 156, 163; 1388-92, p. 134; 1391-6, pp. 357, 522, 525, 536, 652, 727.
5. Ibid., pp. 388, 405; Gilbert, *Viceroys*, p. 260.
6. *Four Masters*, IV, pp. 728-9; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1391-6, pp. 490-2, etc. (patents dated Milford, 24 Sept., 1394). Part of the army sailed from Bristol (ibid., p. 520).
7. *Annals of Clonmacnoise* quoted in *Four Masters*, IV, p. 767, *note*; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1396-9, p. 511.

II

Between the reigns of Richard II and Henry VIII no army crossed to Ireland, and so, with the exception of the periodical journeys of viceroys and officials, the only link between the ports on either side of the Irish Sea was that of merchants' traffic. There is some evidence to show that, in the constant resort of Irish rulers and bishops to the court during this long period, the ports of Liverpool or Chester were occasionally used.[1] The Dee, however, was badly choked with sand at the middle of the fourteenth century, while in the sixteenth century it was proposed to build a quay six miles from the city.[2] Still, as Dublin was the administrative centre, it is most probable that the usual route to Ireland lay through one or other of the northern ports. During the reign of Henry VIII the Chester and Holyhead route became the ordinary line of communication between England and Ireland. Lord deputies and King's messengers chose the shortest sea passage; courtiers and their servants feared the wild moods of the Irish Sea. Along Watling Street from London to Chester they rode, often with a company of captains, archers, priests, and minstrels. At Chester the lord deputy's train was divided; most of the soldiers, horses, and baggage went aboard at Chester quay, or at Hilbre Island; but the viceroy and a small retinue took the coast road at the foot of Moel Famma, through Rhuddlan, Conway, and Penmaenmawr to Beaumaris; thence by the high road across Anglesey to Holyhead. Here, if the wind were favourable, they embarked, and, with a sharp watch for the pirates from Drogheda, Bristol, Chester, or Liverpool, set sail for Dublin.[3] The King's posts and merchants traversed the same route, from whom royal officers on their way to Dublin could learn the movements of the Irish leaders or the fortunes of an English plunderer's raid on an Irish village. Occasionally the posts passed through Liverpool, perhaps driven there by stress of weather; as, for example, in 1546, when Alexander Garnet, an officious Liverpool merchant, detained a messenger carrying letters addressed to

1. *Letters and Papers illustrative of the reigns of Rich. III and Hen. VII*, ed. Gairdner (Rolls Series), I, p. 112; II, pp. 297, 305.

2. See J. H. Lumby in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 1903-4, p. 173; *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, XI, no. 1453; see also *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. Dasent, II, pp. 545-6.

3. There are numerous references to this route in the *Letters and Papers*, see especially, XIV, ii. 616, XV, 266. There is a description of a lord deputy's voyage in Sir William Russell's diary, *Carew Calendar*, 1589-1600, pp. 220-1. The *Letters and Papers* contain several references to pirates of the places mentioned.

the King.[1] In Mary's reign, a special man-of-war was stationed at Chester ready to transport the Queen's officials, and to bear to and fro letters concerning the Queen's affairs. But in 1565 the post was discontinued and not revived until 1598, when Ireland was in arms under Tyrone.[2]

After the outbreak of the Geraldine Rebellion in 1534, lord deputy Skeffington crossed from Beaumaris to Dublin; soldiers, ordnance, artificers, timber, and victuals were shipped from Liverpool and Chester to Dublin, or from Bristol to Waterford.[3] When the Geraldines had been crushed, a new viceroy, Lord Leonard Grey, took measures for settling Leinster. Irish absentees in England were recalled by statute, and for their support temporary supplies of victuals were to be sent from Chester, Liverpool, the Welsh ports, and Bristol, to Wicklow, Arklow, Wexford, and Ross, while commissioners with powers to 'inhabit' as much Irish land as possible journeyed through Chester to Holyhead to take shipping for Ireland.[4] Grey marched into Ulster in 1539, to attack the O'Neills and O'Donnells, Kildare's northern allies, and it was probably for this expedition that artillery and munitions of war were shipped from Chester in this year.[5] To Chester too, were brought 1,000 kerne for service in Henry's French and Scottish campaigns of 1544. The transports had been delayed by reports of hostile craft roving the seas, and, in the uncertainty, royal agents inquired for the missing Irish levies at Beaumaris, Peel of Fowdray, and Liverpool.[6] Next year, a fleet assembled at Holyhead, Beaumaris, and Chester, which was to bring over 2,000 more kerne under Ormonde. In the fleet were ships of Wexford, and Dublin, of Pembroke, Milford, and even Minehead in Somerset, but there were none from Liverpool.[7] The kerne included old men and boys unfit for service, whom the lieutenant-general of the northern army sent back through Chester. At the end of the wars in 1550 the remnant returned through the same port.[8]

1. *L. and P.*, VIII, 716, 1124; XIV, ii. 471; XXI, i, 1362.
2. *Acts, P.C.*, IV, p. 354; VII, 302; VIII, 201; H. Joyce, *History of the Post Office*, p. 3.
3. *L. and P.*, VII, 1229, 1682; *Carew Cal.*, 1515-74, pp. 51-59; *Irish Cal.*, 1509-73, p. 10; Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, I, pp. 169-70.
4. *L. and P.*, XII, i, 394 (2); ii, 531.
5. Ibid., XIV, ii, 616, f. 91 b.
6. *L. and P.*, XIX, i, 261, 471, 476 (2), 477 (1); *Burghley State Papers*, ed. Haynes, London, 1740, p. 11.
7. *L. and P.*, XIX, i, 813, ii, 48; XX, ii, 290, 819; see list of ships, ibid., 819 (2).
8. Ibid., i, 77; *Acts, P.C.*, III, pp. 79-80, 94.

III

Apart from the rare occasions when it was used to relieve the pressure upon Chester, the port of Liverpool was neglected by the crown during the first half of the sixteenth century. But at the end of Edward VI's reign the evidence of its relations with Irish politics becomes more abundant. Ulster was now threatened by a Scottish, Munster by a French invasion; the chiefs of Connaught were restless; the court wished to undertake the hopeless task of forcing the new religion on the unconquered Irish people; Irish trade was crippled by the brass and copper issued as silver from the Dublin Mint. Prices rose enormously, and the lord deputy's revenue was inadequate for the expenses of misgovernment. Mining experiments failed, so bullion had to be sent from England. Such a supply was brought in carts from London to Liverpool in 1552, another, to Chester in 1557, for shipment to Ireland.[1] Counterfeiting the base Irish money was both easy and profitable: on one occasion a Liverpool mariner was examined before the lord deputy's Council for bringing false coin into the realm.[2]

At the beginning of 1558 Sir Henry Sidney, then lord justice and acting as deputy, feared concerted action between the Irish chieftains, the Scots, and the French. His trusted servant, Ralph Knight, returning in haste from the court with important despatches, apparently sailed from Liverpool.[3] Again, in June, 1559, one of the garrison of Green Castle, in County Down, came here to obtain victuals and other necessities which the waste country adjoining the Castle could not supply.[4] Further one of Sidney's retainers, no doubt on his way home with the lord justice in 1559, was imprisoned by the mayor for 'railing' at the earl of Derby.[5] Sussex, who became lord-lieutenant of Ireland, after the accession of Elizabeth, was defeated on the borders of the Pale by Shane, the chief acclaimed by the assembled septs of the O'Neills. In December, 1561, Shane came to England to lay his grievances before the Queen. The following March, a Drogheda boat was chartered while at Liverpool, to take back certain of the O'Neills' followers, then returning

1. *Irish Cal.*, 1509-73, pp. 114-30; *Carew Cal.*, 1515-74, p. 272; *Acts, P.C.*, III, p. 104; Bagwell, ch. XVII.
2. Hist. MSS. Com. 15*th Report*, *Appendix*, III, p. 27.
3. *Liverpool Town Books*, MS. vol. I, f. 33, r. The letter from the Privy Council in favour of Knight, registered here, is not in the printed *Acts, P.C.*, vol. VI.
4. *Town Books*, I, f. [49], r.
5. Ibid. f. [50], r.

from London. Shane himself crossed in May, probably from Holyhead to Dublin.[1]

Meanwhile the situation in Scotland was such that Elizabeth had undertaken extensive works of fortification at Berwick-on-Tweed, for which, in 1561, 140 skilled masons were brought from different parts of Ireland. On the completion of the works at the end of two years, many of the Irish masons came to Liverpool to take ship for home. Here they spent part of their money, to the benefit of the clothiers of the town; for, it is said, they 'apparelled themselves honestly.'[2]

Shane O'Neill had no sooner reached his own people than he began to trouble anew the English governors, and they to try all means, ranging from flattery to poisoned wine, for preserving peace in Ulster. Liverpool, Chester, and Hilbre were frequented by the innumerable messengers, commissioners, justices, and minor officials whom Shane's energies caused to pass between England and Ireland. Sir Thomas Cusake, while at Hilbre in February, 1563/4, wrote optimistically of the O'Neill's desire for peace, and of the good results of granting him the English wife, for whom he professed to languish. Sir William Fitzwilliam was in Liverpool at the beginning of March, hiring ships to convey treasure, ammunition, and victuals across the channel, as well as inquiring into the movements of foreign pirates. He embarked on the midnight of the sixth, and saw his treasure safe in Dublin on the eighth.[3] A great victory over the Scots in 1565 made Shane virtual king of the north of Ireland. The chief and primary duty of Sidney, appointed lord deputy on October 13, was to put down the too powerful O'Neill.[4] About the middle of November he came to Chester with Sir Wareham St. Leger, Sir Nicholas Bagenall, marshal of Ireland, and a large company of attendants and soldiers. Part of the retinue was quartered in Liverpool, part lay in the Wirral. Among those at Liverpool were Captain Lloyd *alias* Flood, a Welsh soldier of fortune, and the famous Thomas Stukely, pirate and adventurer, who had just been liberated from gaol to plunder the Queen's Irish enemies. The mayor had naturally the greatest difficulty in keeping the peace while these idle cut-throat gentlemen were waiting to embark. They assaulted townsmen, and attacked an old Irish

1. *T.B.*, I, f. 80, v; *Irish Cal.*, 1509-73, p. 195; Bagwell, II, pp. 31-41.
2. *T.B.*, I, f. 104, r; *Irish Cal.*, pp. 165-6.
3. *Irish Cal.*, pp. 230-1, 232.
4. *Dict. Nat. Biog. LII*, 212; Richey, *History of the Irish People* (Dublin, 1887), p. 478.

captain, one John Wakeley, reputed to be the 'richest man of gold' in all Ireland.[1] But one of the 'fine gentlemen' of Sidney's company, while swaggering through the narrow streets, crowded with soldiers, townsmen, and doubtless with many 'sturdy vagabonds,' lost a purse of gold and jewels. The thief, an Irishman of Queen's County, once in the service of the great earl of Ormonde, being unfortunately taken, was nailed to a post, stripped naked to the waist, and whipped out of the town.[2]

On 3 December the comfort-loving Sidney was wearily waiting at Hilbre for a favourable wind for Ireland. He bitterly complained of his enforced stay in a place where good food, drink, and lodging could not be obtained.[3] A fortnight later, at Beaumaris, he bemoaned the thirty days he had wasted in flitting from place to place on the coast. Then several barques with his horses and goods put to sea; of these one had been driven ashore at Workington, another was missing. On Saturday, the twenty-second, when Sidney, with his wife and household was still at Beaumaris, Captain Peres of the Queen's ship *Sacar* set sail from the Mersey with several Liverpool ships, having aboard the 'worshipful company,' great horses, treasure, and costly apparel. But the expedition was doomed. On Sunday came a blizzard, slacking towards sunset. Then, late at night the North-Wester rose to a hurricane. The burgesses in their terror cried aloud to God to save the ships which had just left the port, and all Christian people on the seas.[4] All the shipping in the port was driven ashore, and the masonry of the quay dislodged by the violent tide; while at Chester a stone pier was destroyed, and ships were torn from their moorings. Sidney lost another ship in this storm, with all its crew and cargo.

When at last he landed in Dublin on January 13,[5] he soon perceived that Shane O'Neill was too ambitious and too determined a foe to be subdued by the small force under his command. Three hundred men were sent from Berwick through Liverpool and 'other ports facing the Isle of Man,' which they touched, perhaps to revictual, on

1. *T.B.*, I, f. 137, r.; *Irish Cal.*, pp. 99, 101, 261, 274-6; *Carew Cal.*, pp. 208, 213.
2. *T.B.*, I., f. 137, *bis* v.
3. *Irish Cal.*, p. 281. The account in the *Town Books* says, erroneously, that Sidney removed to Holyhead on Dec. 1.
4. *T.B.*, I, f. 141, v.
5. Ibid., ff. 141, v., 142, r.; *Irish Cal.*, pp. 286-7, 290; Bagwell, II, pp. 101, 102, *note*.

their way across the Irish Sea. A force from the western counties sailed direct from Bristol, from which port and from Portsmouth also provisions, ordnance, and ammunition were shipped to Ireland.[1] In the summer of 1566, Sir George Stanley, who had just surrendered the office of marshal to Bagenal, returned to Liverpool in the *George*, a ship owned by two Liverpool burgesses. Shortly afterwards news came to the town that Shane, recently proclaimed a traitor, had taken Armagh. He fired the metropolitan church, and razed castles to the ground as he marched to the English Pale.[2] Throughout the winter victuals, money, and soldiers were shipped from London, Bristol, and Chester, while the Liverpool recorder reports that the Queen's victualler for the North of Ireland spent 'ready gold and white money' in the town on wheat, barrelled wheat-flour, butter, cheese, barley, and malt.[3] Musters were held in the following March at Chester, but most of the soldiers sent thither from Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Lancashire, and North Wales returned to Liverpool to wait for shipping to Ireland. Besides the northern levies, fifty horsemen and provisions were despatched from Liverpool; ordnance and stores from Chester. A further supply of victuals, sufficient for 1,000 men for six months, was to be sent direct to Carrickfergus; other supplies from Bristol and Milford to Derry. And in April, a messenger bearing urgent letters to the lord deputy rode post-haste into Liverpool to charter a vessel.[4]

The indomitable chieftain, however, did not fall to English arms. In the early summer of 1567, after the English had evacuated Derry, he marched against the O'Donnells whose power Sidney had restored. He was routed and fled. He threw himself on the mercy of their kinsmen, the MacDonnels of Antrim. They murdered him in the hope of English gold. The mangled corpse of the proud Shane passed into the hands of Captain Peres, constable of Carrickfergus, who sent the head to Dublin, receiving for it 1,000 marks. It was thus that in Liverpool the report was spread that O'Neill had been taken and slain in May of this year.[5]

1. Ibid., pp. 106, 108; *T.B.*, I, f. 149, v.
2. *T.B.*, I, f. 148, v.; *Irish Cal.*, p. 312; Bagwell, II, pp. 108-9.
3. *T.B.*, I, f. [154], r.; *Irish Cal.*, p. 320; ibid., 1601-3, *Addenda*, pp. 585-7; *Acts, P.C.*, VII, pp. 302-3.
4. *Acts, P.C.*, VII, pp. 329-30, 333, 342, 345-6, 350-1; *Irish Cal.*, pp. 328, 332; *T.B.*, I, ff. [155], v., [158], r.
5. *Irish Cal.*, p. 335; Bagwell, II, pp. 115-118; *T.B.*, I, f. [153], v.

IV

After Shane's death, Sidney came to England in the autumn by the *Sacar*, whose master, John More, having left the lord deputy at Chester, arrived in Liverpool with letters to the mayor in his favour.[1] Sidney returned to Carrickfergus on 6 September, 1568, possibly sailing direct from Liverpool.[2] Shane's policy in Ulster was continued by Turlogh Luineach O'Neill, who seemed likely to become dangerous through his alliance with Sorley Boy MacDonnell and the Scots. In Munster, the English were menaced by the earl of Desmond and James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, driven to arms by the Queen's favour to their rival, the 'loyal' Butler of Ormonde. In Sidney's absence, in 1571, Fitzwilliam again carried the lord deputy's sword with the title of lord justice. In spite of the energy of Sir John Perrot, now president of Munster, Fitzmaurice was still in arms, hoping for help from Spain and Rome. Ulster, temporarily quiet, was still at the mercy of Turlogh and the Scots. Fitzwilliam was therefore forced to ask for 800 more men. Only 100 were sent, whose captain, Thomas Smith, sailed from Liverpool to Strangford Lough at the end of August, 1572, on the double errand of serving the Queen and making his fortune as a colonist.[3] His adventure failed, but the more ambitious scheme of Walter, earl of Essex, followed, after he had obtained a grant of lands in Antrim. Agents of the Queen impressed boats from Liverpool, Wallasey, Formby, and Altcar, for conveying the adventurers, their artizans, victuals, and ammunition to Carrickfergus.[4] In August, 1573, Essex, lords Rich and Darcy, and their men arrived in Chester, and passed on to Liverpool. The noble leaders then journeyed to Lathom House, where the earl of Derby received them. On the sixteenth, 'immediately after morning service,' they embarked at Liverpool, and with a fleet of sixteen or seventeen sail set their course for Belfast Lough. The fleet was scattered by a storm, part being driven as far south as Cork, part taking refuge at the Isle of Man, the earl of Derby's kingdom.

The passage of troops and the shipping of victuals from the port sometimes did it considerable harm. After Essex's visit the burgesses were perturbed by a rumour that the Queen's agents were to seize all the wheat in the town, some said without

1. *T.B.*, I, f. [162], v.; *Irish Cal.*, p. 341; Bagwell, II, p. 124.
2. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; A. Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State*, London, 1746, I, pp. 35-36 (two letters dated Aug. 8, Shrewsbury).
3. *T.B.*, II, f. 26, v.; *Irish Cal.*, pp. 479, 482; Bagwell, II, pp. 230-2.
4. *T.B.*, II, f. 30, v.; *Acts, P.C.*, VIII, pp. 113, 118; Bagwell, II, pp. 239-43.

payment, others said at a price arbitrarily fixed.[1] Again, the violence of English adventurers in Ireland was such that it is hard to believe that the bloody conflict between two captains and their bands, related by historians of Liverpool, was an isolated case of lawlessness.[2] Disturbances like these were inevitable when ill-led and badly disciplined troops were quartered at English ports, waiting in enforced idleness for an easterly wind to take them to the scene of their burnings, pillage, and bloodshed.

Essex's ill-assorted army had little stomach for fighting so resolute an enemy as the O'Neills, and many deserted. Pleading a general confederacy under Turlogh Luineach, ' the only canker of Ulster,' he petitioned for 200 footmen to be sent from Chester and Liverpool.[3] Elizabeth generously gave him more than he asked, arranging early in the new year for 300 fully-equipped veterans, trained in the wars of the Netherlands, to be conducted from Chester, Hilbre, and Liverpool.[4] Moreover, levies from Lancashire, Cheshire, Oxfordshire, and Berkshire were sent to Liverpool and the other ports dependent upon Chester, ready for embarkation, while an order was given—but not carried out—for the transportation of 100 seasoned soldiers from Berwick through Workington.[5] Further, Essex's agent, Sir Edward Waterhouse, was given power to store victuals and other necessities at the ports of Pembroke, Bristol, Chester, Beaumaris, and Liverpool, whence they were to be transported, free of custom, to Carrickfergus.[6] Yet the earl could do nothing against the power of the O'Neills, save burn their corn, and drive off their swine and cattle. In 1575 he was recalled to the court.

In the meantime James Fitzmaurice was travelling the continent to enlist foreign arms and the Papal blessing in the Desmond cause. He landed at Dingle Bay with a tiny army of 80 Spaniards in July, 1579, but soon afterwards was killed in the field. Forces were hastily raised in England and Wales in August; 400 men from North Wales sailed from Chester, while ships brought to Liverpool conveyed 200 northern horsemen to Waterford.[7] But the largest contingent, that

1. *T.B.*, II, f. 30, v.
2. The full account of this episode is in *T.B.*, II, f. 31, r.
3. *Irish Cal.*, pp. 526-7; *Carew Cal.*, p. 447.
4. Ibid., p. 452; *Acts, P.C.*, VIII, pp. 179-80.
5. Ibid., pp. 202-3, 205, 279; *Irish Cal.*, 1574-85, p. 35; Bagwell, II, p. 273
6. *Acts, P.C.*, VIII, pp. 185-6.
7. Ibid., XI, pp. 223-4, 243, 264. The letters abridged here are registered in full in *T.B.*, II, ff. 91, v., 92, r.; see also *Irish Cal.*, 1574-85, p. 182.

from South Wales and the southern counties, sailed from Barnstaple and Bristol.[1] The earl of Desmond, who at first did not support Fitzmaurice's schemes, now openly joined him ; but, despite the desperate courage of his people, Elizabeth's large army was always successful in the field, and Desmond became a fugitive. Meanwhile, an embargo was laid upon all shipping in English ports, for the transportation of levies from Chester, Bristol, and Liverpool. On one occasion complaint was made of unwholesome biscuits supplied by Liverpool. The war appears to have brought much profit to some merchants of the English ports. Thomas Bavand, for example, a wealthy Liverpool alderman, received in September 1580 the large sum of £500 for supplying victuals to the soldiers passing through the town.[2] But the Irish wars brought corresponding obligations, for in December 1582 a general rate was levied on the burgesses for the Liverpool contribution of 18s. 11d. to the £4 5s. 4d., the sum at which the Hundred of West Derby was assessed for the ' furniture ' of soldiers.[3]

Desmond's followers fell away one by one. In 1582 and 1583, he wandered almost a solitary through the wooded hills of his country, until at length he was betrayed by an Irishman whose lands he had once plundered. Starvation, England's most potent weapon, did its work, and the rising was quelled.

V

After the death of Desmond, Ireland was comparatively quiet until 1593. But Elizabeth little dreamed that she cherished a serpent in her bosom when she favoured Hugh O'Neill (Con's reputed grandson, and rival to Turlogh Luineach and the sons of Shane), and made him earl of Tyrone. Turlogh resigning, in 1593 Hugh became chief of the O'Neills. He then came to secret understandings with Hugh Maguire of Fermanagh, Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne, Red Hugh, chief of the O'Donnells, and the King of Spain. English perspicacity at length suspected him ; Sir John Norris was put in command of all the English forces in Ireland ; reinforcements were collected in England ; and on 24 June, 1595, O'Neill was proclaimed a traitor.

1. *Acts, P.C.*, XI, pp. 240-2, 296.
2. *Acts, P.C.*, p. 390, cf. *T.B.*, II, f. 99, v. ; *Irish Cal.*, 1574-85, pp. 245, 305.
3. *T.B.*, II, f. 127, v.

The ports of Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales, of which Chester was the official centre, were busy with preparations for war. In the last few weeks of 1594 and the following spring over 1,000 men were despatched to the north of Ireland. Between 1 April and 15 October, 1595, three boats from Liverpool, three from Hilbre, and two from Chester carried fifteen cargoes of wheat, flour, malt, beans, cheese, biscuits, and beer to Drogheda, Carlingford, and Dublin, while much treasure and munitions of war were shipped from the Mersey and Dee to Drogheda and Newry.[1] In July the victuallers and innkeepers of Liverpool were warned by the mayor to prepare for the entertainment of soldiers, horsemen, and horses, 'appointed to be here at their diet' until they embarked for Ireland.[2] Further, in November, the town was taxed to the sum of £10 2s. 7¾d., which included its share of a subsidy, a fifteenth collected for the war, and a special commutation for military service.[3]

Beverley, the Queen's purveyor, was finding it difficult to supply the needs of the Ulster army, of whom 4,000 were dependent upon the North of England for their food. It was therefore decided to appoint another purveyor at Milford, and early in 1596 victuals began to be shipped from that port.[4] For the transport of fresh levies of 300 horse and 1,500 foot, to be sent through Chester in February and March, a special agent repaired to Liverpool, Neston, and Beaumaris, as well as Chester, to procure shipping. In April, 148 horses were loaded on ships for Ireland,—seventy-six at Liverpool, five at Seacombe, and the rest at Hilbre and Burton in the Wirral.[5] Yet, in spite of constant preparation for war, Elizabeth renewed peaceful overtures to O'Neill. But Hugh's only aim was delay, until the King of Spain should send his galleons of trained soldiers to the shores of Ireland. Spanish pirates menaced the transports; victuals were still lacking for the augmented army; and it was feared that Carrickfergus, Newry, and other English outposts could be no longer held.[6] In

1. *Carew Cal.*, 1589-1600, p. 325; *Irish Cal.*, 1592-6, pp. 294, 307, 309, 313, 331; *Acts, P.C.*, XXV, Appendix, p. 521; P.R.O. *State Papers, Ireland*, Eliz., CLXXXIII, no. 98, I. (The details of the ships and their cargoes are not given in the *Irish Calendar.*)
2. *T.B.*, II, f. 239, v.
3. Ibid., f. 244, r.
4. *Irish Cal.*, 1592-6, pp. 369, 373, 399, 407, 507.
5. Ibid., p. 481; *Acts, P.C.*, XXV, pp. 281, 315; P.R.O. *State Papers, Ireland*, Eliz., CLXXXVIII, 51 (I).
6. *Irish Cal.*, 1596-7, p. 152.

October, however, a new supply arrived from Liverpool and Chester; but with the provisions came more soldiers. During 1597 and 1598, years of victory for O'Neill, the levies of the English counties were being continually brought across the Irish Sea, a large proportion through Liverpool.[1] After Essex's failures in 1599, the 'arch-rebel,' stronger than ever, invaded Munster. The Irish of the four provinces were now united, as far as centuries of tribal war would allow, in a common effort to drive out the English invader. In April, 1600, reinforcements under Sir Henry Docwra, 4,000 foot and 200 horse, were shipped from Neston, Hilbre, Liverpool, and adjoining harbours. On the 24th, the fleet, sixty-four sail all told, dropped anchor at Hilbre, waiting for the fitful wind to veer to the east. On the 26th, a fair easterly breeze sprang up, and at midnight the Calf of Man and the Chickens were passed. Next it blew strong E.N.E., driving the fleet to shelter on the Irish coast, and the last squadron did not disembark its troops at Lough Foyle until May 15.[2]

The Spaniards landed at Kinsale in September, 1601, and Mountjoy marched to meet them. Kinsale was besieged; O'Neill and O'Donnell moving southwards. Troops were urgently needed in Munster as well as in Ulster. Chester and its dependent havens sent men and horses to Lough Foyle and Carrickfergus; Barnstaple and Bristol, to Cork and Waterford.[3] Liverpool's share in these activities was to provide ships and to pay £6 from the common coffer to the High Sheriff of Lancaster. Men to serve in the wars were demanded also, but a general assembly of burgesses on 14 August, 1601, resolved not to send them, insisting on the privileges they claimed 'by charter and the laws of the realm, and for that we serve Her Majesty by sea.' Another assembly, at which were present practically the whole of the free burgesses, confirmed this resolution, in face of the sounder advice of the mayor and recorder, who doubtless knew that they were acting beyond their rights.[4]

But in December the Irish allies made a disastrous attack

1. *Irish Cal.*, 1596-7, pp. 284-5; 1598-9, pp. 257, 270; *Carew Cal.*, 1589-1600, pp. 281, 283; *Acts, P.C.*, XXVI, p. 165; XXVIII, p. 610; XXIX, pp. 32-5.

2. See the 'discourse' of the voyage, *Irish Cal.*, May-Oct., 1600, pp. 200-1; for names of some of the ships see also ibid., p. 203.

3. *Irish Cal.*, 1601-3, pp. 5, 25, 49, 163, 182. (On p. 163 is a table of horses shipped from each of the three ports.)

4. *T.B.*, II, f. 287, v. The *Town Records* between Aug., 1601, and Oct., 1602, are very meagre and do not show the result of this action.

on Mountjoy's besieging forces. O'Donnell and O'Neill were utterly routed, Kinsale and the Spaniards capitulating shortly after. The fires of revolt were stamped out one by one in the four provinces; Hugh O'Neill submitted and was pardoned; and the way was opened for the iniquitous seventeenth century plantations.

VI

The transport of Irish armies was a source of some profit to Liverpool burgesses: for £1 a head for the voyage was paid to the owner of the chartered vessel, 3*d*. a meal to victuallers lodging soldiers about to embark, and 4*d*. a day for horse's fodder.[1] Yet the passage of troops was not an unmixed blessing. Pestilence brought by invalided soldiers caused the death of many an honest householder[2]; while the buying of supplies for the Queen at fixed rates in Lancashire and Cheshire doubtless seriously affected the town's weekly markets; and so the gain of the few meant the loss of the many. Perhaps such facts as these were the reasons of occasional friction between the mayor and the royal officials at Chester. When an order came for the staying of ships, sometimes there were none in port; the ½*d*. toll at the ferry was exacted, though the ferry belonged to the Queen; while on one occasion the horses and equipment of a captain were detained by the mayor on the plea of a debt of £20 due from the Queen, and some of his men even dismissed to their homes.[3] More serious, however, was the information sent to the Queen's ministers in June, 1597, that Irish merchants had been employed by Hugh O'Neill to furnish great quantities of lead for bullets, muskets, swords, and other arms to be transported from Liverpool. He also had agents in Manchester, but diligent search failed to discover any contraband.[4]

Owing to Liverpool's subordination to Chester for customs purposes, it was always considered as being in the port of Chester for matters of general administration. Orders of the Privy Council were sent to the mayor of Chester, and by him transmitted to Liverpool. For this reason it is impossible to estimate the exact proportion of troops and provisions sent

1. Ramsay Muir in *Vict. Hist. Lancs.*, IV, p. 17.
2. P.R.O. *State Papers, Ireland*, Eliz., CLXXXVII, 51 (I), letter from Mayor of Liverpool to Mayor of Chester, 20 March, 1591/6.
3. Ibid., CXCIV, 46; *Irish Cal.*, 1596-7, p. 189; *Acts, P.C.*, XXVI, p. 478.
4. *Irish Cal.*, 1596-7, p. 323.

through Liverpool, yet it would appear that from Elizabeth's time it was recognised as the more convenient haven. Lord deputy Burgh, asking for additional arms in June, 1597, says definitely that they will reach him with greater expedition if sent by Liverpool, 'for that the conveniency of shipping commonly serveth at Liverpool rather than at Chester.'[1] Moreover, Camden, the Elizabethnn antiquary, described the Liverpool route as the most convenient and most frequented passage to Ireland.[2] The burgesses themselves considered their 'service to Her Majesty for the realm of Ireland . . . very requisite,' and even claimed 'that Liverpool hath ever heretofore been reputed and taken for the best port and harbour from Milford to Scotland, and so hath always been provided with all manner of ships and barques, owners, masters, and mariners.'[3]

F. J. ROUTLEDGE

Liverpool

1. Ibid., p. 312.
2. Camden, *Britannia* (ed. London, 1806), III, 376.
3. *T.B.*, I, f. 143, v.; II, f. 132, r.

UN PROCÈS DE SORCIÈRE À TEMPLEUVE EN PEVÈLE AU DIX-SEPTIÈME SIÈCLE

I

Le Document, dont sont extraits les détails relatifs à ce procès de sorcellerie, est une copie d'un acte de tabellion. Le notaire ou tabellion qui l'a rédigé était M. Caron ; il appartenait à une famille ou l'on était notaire de père en fils, pendant tout le XVII^e^ et une partie du XVIII^e^ siècle. On pourrait donner approximativement la date de cette copie, d'abord par l'écriture qui date du XVIII^e^ siècle, et par ce fait que dans le procès qu'il y eut devant le conseil du roi en 1728, entre l'Abbé d'Anchin et le Comte de St.-Aldegonde, pour les droits seigneuriaux de Templeuve, l'Abbé Melchior de Polignac ' excipait de ces procès de sorcières pour prouver que l'Abbaye d'Anchin y exerçait les droits de justice.' C'est ce que remarquait le notaire Yves-Joseph Baratte dans sa réponse (1819) à une circulaire du préfet du Nord ; il y mentionne un procès qui daterait de l'année 1656, ou l'on condamna des sorciers et sorcières dont les noms se retrouvent dans le procès de Marie de Navarre.

On a identifié la plupart des noms qui se trouvent dans cette enquête, grâce au registre de l'Etat religieux qui se trouve à la Mairie de Templeuve et qui commence en l'année 1602. Ce registre n'est pas complet ; on n'y trouve que les naissances et les mariages ; de plus, certaines pages manquent ; d'autres sont illisibles. Il existe aux archives du Nord une liste des contributeurs aux vingtièmes, qui date des premières années du dix-septième siècle ; les actes du tabellion et les cartes des propriétés de l'Abbaye d'Anchin à Templeuve et de l'Abbaye de Loos à Huquin. C'est à l'aide de ces documents que l'on peut jeter quelque lumière sur cette affaire de sorcellerie.

Le procès eut lieu, sous l'instigation et ' à la poursuite ' d'Adrien Fichelle, ' lieutenant de Messieur(s) les révérends prélat et religieux de St.-Sauveur d'Anchin en leur terre et seigneurie de Templeuve ' contre (à la charge de) Marie de Navarre, accusée de sorcellerie ' en la halle du dit Templeuve ' par Catherine Wartel, Anne Malet, Alard Wartel, et autres.

Le lieutenant et les hommes de fief ont fait par ' notre premier sergeant saisir et prendre au collet la dite Marie de Navarre,'

d'après un décret passé en la halle le 10 novembre 1656 ; on l'y mit en prison. Son interrogatoire eut lieu le 18 novembre 1656. Après avoir relu et fait signer les dépositions par l'accusée, on procéda ensuite, le 28 novembre, à l'accusation ou ' Calenge,' dont lecture est faite à l'accusée ; on lui en offre copie, et on lui donne sept jours pour se justifier et présenter ou récuser des témoins. Comme l'accusée declare se soumettre, on procède à la confrontation le 11 décembre 1656 entre elle et les témoins à charge. Puis on offre encore à l'accusée de faire preuve de sa justification. Après cette procédure, le lieutenant déclare ' avoir fait et parfait les preuves d'enquête.' Le 14 novembre 1656 on poursuit l'interrogatoire ; le 17 décembre 1656 on lit la sentence de ' torture ' a l'accusée, et on procède à la ' contrainte.' Puis le document s'arrête et l'on ne sait, sauf par le renseignement donné plus haut, si l'accusée a été brûlée.

On assiste ainsi, dans la halle ou salle municipale d'un village des Flandres au dix-septième siècle, à la longue procédure (qui dure du 10 novembre au 17 décembre de l'année 1656) contre une sorcière, avec la légalité telle qu'elle existait à cette époque dans les localités du plat pays.

II

D'après l'accusation et les différents interrogatoires on peut essayer de se faire, au point de vue moderne, une idée de l'état d'esprit, de l'atmosphère de suspicion, qui entourait et accablait une personne accusée alors de sorcellerie.

Le lieutenant d'Anchin s'appelait Adrien Fichelle ; on retrouve son nom dans le registre religieux ; il épouse Hélène de Linselle, le 17 mai 1632. Dans les cartes des terres d'Anchin, à Templeuve, on voit qu'il occupait 14 bonniers 254 verges (64 hectares environ) et qu'il habitait ' la vielle cense d'Anchin.' Dans les documents du tabellion on voit quelle part importante il prenait à la vie du village ; c'était à la fois le grand ' occupeur ' des terres, le bailli et lieutenant de l'Abbaye d'Anchin.

Parmi les hommes de fief, dont le nom varie à chaque séance, il faut citer Mathieu Bonnier, qui était bailli des Dames de Flines, dans la ferme dite du Maresquet ; on retrouve sur la carte ce nom ; ' La maison Mathieu Bonnier.'

Dans les interrogatoires, on ne perçoit pas le caractère soit du lieutenant, soit des hommes de fief, sauf le fait qu'ils croyaient fermement à l'existence de la sorcellerie. C'est là le point

déjà relevé par tous ceux qui ont fait ces études ; il n'y avait pas que le clergé qui crût aux sorcières ; Michelet a montré que les juges laïques, membres du Parlement, tels que Lancre,[1] Boguet, Remy et autres, tous ceux qui ont jugé des sorciers ou sorcières, et ceux qui étaient accusés de sorcellerie, croyaient à son existence. La question était donc de savoir, non s'il y avait eu sorcellerie, mais de qui provenaient les mauvais sorts jetés sur telle ou telle personne.

Dans le procès de Marie de Navarre, les juges prétendent que les sorciers ou sorcières ' auraient resolu de faire mourir le lieutenant de Templeuve, parce qu'il aurait imposé sur les habitants du village de nourrir et de loger les soldats de M[r] Campy.' C'est le fait politique auquel se rattachent plus ou moins les accusations. D'autre part, les juges n'ont pas le moindre doute qu'il n'y ait eu des scènes de sabbat dans certains endroits, en des localités qu'ils indiquent. La seule question est de savoir si l'accusée y a pris part.

On peut opposer la personnalité de l'accusée, suivant le point de vue moderne, à ce qu'elle devait paraître aux yeux des habitants de son village, et cela d'après le même interrogatoire. ' Elle a dit qui [que] elle se nomme Marie de Navarre d'age de cinquante ans ou environ.' On trouve son nom dans le registre religieux vers 1635 (?), date de son mariage avec Martin Heddebault (Herbeau, dans le manuscrit[1]) ; elle devait être née vers 1606. ' Son père se nommoit Pierre de Navarre et sa mère Marguerite Gremillier.' On retrouve le nom du premier dans la liste des vingtièmes ; il est qualifié de médecin ; par conséquent la famille devait être un peu au-dessus du niveau ordinaire. Elle dit qu' ' elle n'a jamais eu connoissance de ses père et mère grands ' ; cela peut signifier qu'elle était trop jeune pour les connaître ou qu'ils demeuraient dans une autre localité. Son éducation a été celle des filles de son rang,— elle dit : ' d'avoir été deux ou trois hivers [à] l'escholle mais qu'elle n'a rien grand chose appris, si non a filer, puis maneuvrer et faire son menage.' Elle ne peut pas signer, on peut accepter comme vrai ce qu'elle admet (sans être mise à la question) à son désavantage. Elle reconnaît, par exemple, qu'elle a voulu échapper à la justice :

A elle imposé que voyant que la justice travailloit à la recherche des sorciers et sorcières à leur procès, elle est retiré et s'est fait conduire vers Mons ou Bruxelles par crainte qu'elle ne fut saisit. Elle dist qu'elle avoit crainte de la justice et qu'on lui disoit qu'on la viendroit prendre.

1. Cf. Michelet, *La Sorcière.*

Elle avoue aussi qu'elle avait la réputation d'être sorcière : ' elle dist qu'il est vray qu'elle a la réputation d'être sorcière mais que son marie [*sic*] n'en a rien voulu faire.' Une des plus terribles accusations qu'on pût faire contre elle, au point de vue de sorcellerie, c'est qu'elle avait des accès ; on reviendra plus tard sur ce point ; en tous cas elle reconnaît que parfois ' elle a mal a la tête ' et ' elle dist quand on a mal a la tete, s'étoit des grimaiges [grimaces] et qu'elle se met proche du feu.' Etaient-ce des accès de fièvre ou d'hystérie ? ' et qu'elle est femme de bien.'

On peut donc se figurer, au point de vue moderne, Marie de Navarre comme une petite fermière, un peu mieux élevée que les commères du village, mal vue, ' en pointe ' avec ses voisins et voisines, soupçonnée de sorcellerie, et s'en défendant, mais y croyant.

Qu'on examine en effet ses réponses quand on l'accuse de sorcellerie : ' Q. Pourquoi et a quel subject elle a la reputation d'etre sorcière—R. Elle dit qu elle y est pour le subjet de ce qu'il n'est point [vrai]—que ça [a] esté par l'accusation de cette mechante sorciere, mais qu'elle est femme de bien.—' Elle se défend donc en accusant la délatrice d'être sorcière. De même elle nie avoir commis toutes les formalités de la sorcellerie, comme d'avoir ' abjuré Dieu, Chresme et Baptesme, etc.,' d'avoir assisté au sabbat avec d'autres complices. Ce n'est que quand on a recherché ces derniers qu'elle a eu peur d'être soupçonnée et qu'elle a voulu fuir, sachant la réputation dont elle jouissait. Tous les actes d' ' ensorcellement ' qu'on lui reproche, elle les nie ou les explique. Pour elle, comme on dit encore aujourd'hui dans le même village, ' ce sont tous des mentiries.'

Il ressort pourtant du procès qu'elle faisait partie d'une famille suspecte de sorcellerie (sa belle-soeur Catherine d'Aigremont ou d'Engremont, qui avait épousé un [Antoine ?] Navarre (né le 12 januer 1604) ; Allard d'Engremont, frère de la précédente, et Catherine Wartel ' veuve de guilleaume d'engremont exécuté[s] pour crisme de sorcellerie.') On voit que les familles Navarre et d'Engremont avaient une mauvaise réputation. Encore aujourd'hui ce soupçon flotte sur certaines familles du même village, comme un vague écho du passé.

On peut maintenant rechercher en quoi, d'après les juges et les témoins à charge, consistait le fait de sorcellerie. On l'a ' Chargé[e] d'être sorciere—d'avoir abjuré Dieu, Chresme et Baptême—d'avoir eu et d'avoir encore adherence au diable.—'

Plus loin, on précise ce dernier fait : ' d'y avoir eu copulation avec le diable.' Comme le dit Michelet, ' le diable est l'intime ami du berger et il couche avec la sorcière.'[1] Ceci semble d'ailleurs plutôt emprunté à une sorte de questionnaire, comme le *Malleus Maleficarum* de Sprenger, car on retrouve souvent cette formule. Voîci des faits plus locaux :—' Elle dist de n'avoir jamais eté es assemble[e]s de diable ni de personne . . . de ni avoir beu ni mangé ny avoir eu copulation avec le diable.' Les danses qui formaient le sabbat se faisaient près des bois, dans les endroits déserts : ' On s'assemblait,' écrit encore Michelet, ' de préférence autour d'une pierre druidique, sur quelque grande lande.'[2] Dans ce procès, on parle de ' danse et assemblé[e] proches des bois de Hucquin,' ou bien ' proches du Quennelet, au riez au bois, es près de Louvyl' : endroits encore aujourd'hui suspects, mais combien plus autrefois.

Dans ces assemblées, d'après la rumeur publique, on complotait contre l'existence ou le bien-être des ennemis et persécuteurs des sorciers et sorcières. ' Lorsqu'il y avoit des garnison[s] en cette seigneurie a l'hyver(s) de 1654 et 1655 du temps de Mr. Campy ' . . . ' même que lors avec les autres sorcier[s] et sorcières elle auroit tenu conseil et mis en résolution de faire mourir Adrien Fichel, lieutenant, parce qu'ils lui imposoient de les avoir logé.' Cette accusation pourrait faire croire que certains habitants du village tinrent des assemblées pour protester contre les actes du lieutenant d'Anchin ; on voit le grief de la population qui se plaignait d'avoir à loger les soldats. Le Mr. Campy, dont on parle ici, devait être un magistrat ou un général au service de l'Espagne, car, à ce moment, ce pays était sous la domination espagnole. Ceci servirait à dater exactement les assemblées dont on parle plus haut.

III

Les accusations qui ont amené l'arrestation de Marie de Navarre ont été portées par ses voisins et surtout par ses voisines, ces dernières semblant acharnées à sa perte.[3] On a vu plus haut que sa réputation de sorcière était établie ; on peut se

1. Michelet, *Histoire de France*, tome VIII, introduction—' La Sorcellerie.'—Ed. définitive. Flammarion.

2. Michelet, *op. cit.*—tome XI, p. 63.

3. Avec son *directorium*, il suffirait de trois témoins. Comment n'aurait-on pas trois témoins, surtout pour témoigner le faux ? Dans toute ville médisante, dans tout village envieux, plein de haine de voisins, les témoins abondent. Michelet, *Renaissance*, tome VII, Introduction.

demander sur quoi cette conviction, cette ' opinion publique ' s'appuyait. C'est surtout dans la confrontation de témoins, que l'on peut prendre sur le vif la maladie du soupçon.

Le premier témoin à charge—ce dont l'auteur de cet article n'est pas autrement fier—est un nommé *Antoine Bonnier* dit Brodat ; il prétend que Marie de Navarre lui a avoué être sorcière ; il devait être employé chez elle, car ' il battoit du grain,' et c'est lui qui l'a mené ' jusques au[x] proches de Tournay ' ; ' en étant en chemin avecq ycelle Marie de Navarre qu'il s'informat pourquoy elle s'en alloit et s'exile soy mesme hors du pays, elle lui at fait response qu'elle avoit peur de la justice.' Il l'accuse de plus de l'avoir ensorcelé au moyen d'un craquelin. Le fait d'être ensorcelé au moyen d'une pâtisserie ou d'un fruit est très souvent cité dans les procès de sorcière, et ici l'on accuse Marie de Navarre de s'être servie d'un craquelin et d'une pomme. Le moindre malaise suivant cette consommation était imputé à la sorcière. ' Elle enfante la maladie dont le voisin est frappé,' écrit Michelet ; ici le nommé Antoine Bonnier ' s'étant fait exorcisé l'espace de quinze jours au village de Wammes, a enfin rejetté se tort [le sort ?] par la bouche en forme d'une bête portant trois cornes.' D'ailleurs le fait était attesté ' par une lettre écrite du pasteur de Wammes.' Marie de Navarre ayant répondu que ' quand il s'est en allé hors de la maison, il avoit le mal trèz,' le dit Bonnier a persisté ' lui disant que tu menty aussi. Cha été toy quil mat ensorcelé.' Le fait d'aller trouver un pasteur ou prêtre d'un village voisin pour se faire ' exauschisé ' (exorciser) n'était pas rare, même au commencement du siècle dernier.

Quant au témoin suivant, *Mathieu Rousseau*, il se plaint ' quelle l'a frappé en la maison de Jean Delebecq et du dit frappement dit que la dite Marie de Navarre l'a ensorcelé.' Il ne spécifie pas le genre de sort, mais, encore au siècle dernier, un ' frappement ' était considéré comme un mauvais sort, et il fallait de suite le rendre.

Voilà pour les hommes ; quant aux femmes, elles citent des faits plus précis. Par exemple, une nommée *Jeanne Devendeville* accuse la sorcière de l'avoir ensorcelée en lui mettant une ' baie ' sur la tête ; l'accusée reconnait qu'elle l'a fait dans l'intention de ' relever son chevet.' *Marguerite Dedamps* prétend de son côté que sa soeur ' en demandoit,' c'est-à-dire attribuait sa maladie au fait que la sorcière lui avait rendu une assiette où elle lui avait porté un fromage,

' du tems qu'il y avoit des soldats en garnison.' Enfin : *Isabeau Wochel* lui reproche d'avoir ensorcelé son fils, ' en lui baillant une pomme.'

Toutes ces accusations, on le voit, tournent autour du même genre de soupçons ; mauvais sort, empoisonnement et maladie ; le seul fait un peu plus circonstancié (probablement venant du lieutenant qui croyait sa vie menacée) est la présence attestée par témoin de l'accusée dans son jardin, mais ceci n'est confessé qu'à la torture.

Ce qu'on appelait en effet la ' contrainte,' ou ' torture,' ne peut plus être accepté, suivant les idées modernes, comme témoignage. On ne relèvera donc que les aveux qui concordent avec les dépositions précédentes ; par exemple, lorsqu'on lui demande ' pourquoi et a quelle sujet elle a réputation d'estre sorciere,' elle répond ' que ça esté cette méchante sorcière quil l'a accusé et que s'étoit qu'il avoient la haine contre elle.' Elle reconnaît donc cette persécution sourde qui s'exerçait contre elle ; cette atmosphère de suspicion qui l'entourait ; ceci est attesté par un aveu fait à plusieurs reprises et sa crainte de la justice : elle dit—' qu'elle s'en alloit parce qu'elle ne volloit point être es main de la justice.'

L'accusation d'avoir voulu ' faire mourir ' Adrien Fichel, lieutenant des village, se fonde sur ce qu'on l'avait trouvée ' au point du jour dans le jardin d'Adrien Fichel, d'où elle venoit si tempre lorsque Simon Wauquier lui a parlé,'—où ' elle faisoit du bruit comme si elle eut volu espoventer des poules ou oiseau.' A cela elle répond ' qu'elle revenoit de la maison de Pierre Chuffart pour voir de l'estrain,' réponse plausible, mais elle ne satisfait pas les ' questionneurs '—qui préfèrent supposer ' qu'elle venoit de quelque assemblée de sorciere ou bien qu'elle travailloit à quelque sorcellerie ou à la recherche de quelque beste vénimeuse,' ce qui l'a fait s'écrier : ' voilà une terrible affaire de chercher tant de conte ! '

Les autres accusations, appuyées des témoignages que l'on a vus plus haut, lui sont faites, en y ajoutant celle touchant le mort de Catherine Delebecq et de sa fille ' ; elle s'en défend en appelant la première ' mal disante.'

Ici se termine ce procès, mais il est vraisemblable que Marie de Navarre a été condamnée à mort, si l'on s'appuie du témoignage du notaire Yves-Joseph Baratte qui a dû connaître d'autres documents et aussi sur le fait que la torture a été appliquée.

IV

Le caractère général du procès et de l'enquête, comme on l'a vu plus haut, c'est la croyance générale, aussi bien de la part de l'accusée que des accusateurs, à l'existence de la sorcellerie. Cette croyance existait dans tous les rangs de la société. A la date du 6 juillet 1679, dans les actes de notaire, on lit le récit d'un arbitrage entre trois habitants du village, dont les deux premiers avaient nommé le troisième ' race de sorcière ou sorcier.' Quoique l'affaire se soit arrangée, on voit comment un procès pouvait naître. Rien de plus commun que ces accusations réciproques ; quelqu'un qui avait eu dans sa famille un sorcier ou une sorcière (réputés) était toujours exposé à ' se l'entendre reprocher.'

Au point de vue de la topographie, on a relevé les différents endroits où se tenaient, dit-on, les sabbats ; ces assemblées, d'après les juges, se tenaient ' proches les bois de Hucquin,' ' du Quennelet [mot disparu], au riez au bois et es près de Louvyl.' Au dix-septième siècle, dans les nomenclatures des actes de notaire, on constate que ces terrains incultes appelés ' riez,' landes et orées de bois étaient beaucoup plus nombreux qu'aujourd'hui. Au point de vue des habitations, on ne cite que celle du Lieutenant Fichel, et aussi la *Halle* ou salle commune, où se réunissaient les échevins ; la prison, qui existe encore (au moins certains piliers), se trouvait dans une cave, sous la maison du clerc de la paroisse.

Quant au langage, il faut s'attendre dans un acte de cette espèce, surtout dans une copie relativement moderne, à n'en retrouver que quelques traces ; les formules judiciaires en remplissent la plus grande partie ; pourtant dans les dépositions, dans la confrontation des témoins avec l'accusée, le scribe a parfois laissé des phrases entières en style direct, qui ont bien l'accent du patois : on ne relèvera ici que les termes les plus caractéristiques :

Marie de Navarre répond, par exemple, ' qu'elle n'a rien grand chose appris ' ; on retrouve ici la construction patoise ; avec le participe passé rejeté à la fin, comme dans une phrase allemande. Ailleurs ' elle dit qui n'est point vrai ' (que cela n'est pas vrai) ; le pronom *il* s'est contracté en *i ;* la vraie phrase a dû être : ' i n'est nin vrai.' L'expression *eau de font* employée dans une déposition signifie eau bénite (des fonts baptismaux). ' Elle est venu subitement malade ' ; est aussi une formule patoise (elle est devenue . . .).

Dans les dépositions, on trouve parfois au milieu d'une querelle l'écho d'expressions qui ont dû être employées sur le moment même et que le secrétaire n'a fait que transcrire. Par exemple lorsque Antoine Bonnier dit à l'accusée ; ' Cha été toy quil m'at ensorcelé ' (littéralement : cela a été toi qui m'as ensorcelé). La phrase suivante : ' sa dite soeur lui a dit pendant sa dite maladie qu'elle en demandoit à la dite Marie de Navarre qu'elle l'avoit ensorcelé.' L'expression ' en demander à ' signifie, lui attribuait sa maladie.

Telles sont les principales phrases ou expressions qui surnagent au milieu des formules légales de ce langage barbare dont les notaires affublaient et masquaient le langage local des déposants.

Un seul cri résonne encore jusqu'à nous et nous reporte à la salle basse où la réputée sorcière était soumise à la torture : ' Elle a dit avec un cri bien haut qu'elle n'a point renonchie à Dieu ' ; c' était probablement au moment où ses os craquaient.

V

Extrait du registre du procès criminel(s) fait à la personne de Marie de Navarre, vivante femme de Martin Herbeaut,[1] par devant le lieutenant et hommes de fief de la terre et Seigneurie de Templeuve-en-Pevèle en l'an 1656.

Le dit procès fait à la poursuite d'Adrien Fichelle, lieutenant de Messieur[s] les Révérends prélat et religieux de Saint Sauveur d'Anchin en leur terre et Seigneurie de Templeuve, comme s'ensuit :

Vu les information[s] tenue[s] d'office par les Lieutenant et Homme[s] de fief de la terre et Seigneurie de Templeuve-en-Pevèle à la charge de Marie de Navarre, femme de Martin Herbeaut, ensemble les accusations faites contre elle en la Halle du dit Templeuve par Catherine Wartel, Anne Malet, Alard Wartel et autres ;

Nous, Hommes de fief du dit Templeuve, à la requette du Lieutenant pour offices, ordonnons et commettons à notre premier sergeant sur ce requis de saisir et prendre au collet

1. *Marie de Navarre :* née vers 1606 ; épouse Martin Hedbault après le 10 septembre 1635, exécutée en 1656.
Martin Hedbault, et non *Herbaut*. Ce nom de Herbaut a subi, dans le registre religieux, de nombreuses transformations d'orthographe et de prononciation. De même *Wauquier* qui est devenu *Auquier ; Daigremont* qui s'est changé en *Dengremont ; Doffignies* transformé en *Daufiné*. Le clerc écrivait le nom comme il l'entendait, et c'est ainsi que des gens de même nom—le cas s'est souvent présenté—n'ont pu hériter, à cause d'une variation d'orthographe.

Marie de Navarre en tel lieu qu'appréhender la pourra, sauf à la rintoiier[1] si le cas y eschet ; pour ce fait(te) etre ycelle amenée es prison, estre à droit et répondre à telles oltérieures conclusion[s] que le dit Lieutenant voudra prendre contre elle. Ainsi décrété en la Halle du dit Templeuve, ce dixiesme de Novembre XVI [cent] cinquante six.

estoit signé M[aurice] Caron.[2]

Du dix huitiesme de Novembre XVI [cent] cinquante six, par devant le Lieutenant et Hommes de fief de la terre [et] Seigneurie de Templeuve-en-Pevèle.

Interrogatoire proposé à Marie de Navarre, femme de Martin Herbaut, prisonnière (a) es prison du dit Templeuve premièrement de ses noms, prénoms, qualité, age et demeurance.

Elle a dit qu(i) elle se nomme Marie de Navarre, d'age de cinquante ans ou environ, demeurant présentement au dit Templeuve.

A elle demandé des noms, surnoms et demeure de ses père et mère et de ses père et mère grands[3] où et comment tous à quelle fin se sont devenus.

Elle dist que son(t) pere se nommoit Pierre de Navarre[4] et sa mère Marguerite Grémillier. Elle dist de n'avoir jamais [eu] connoissance de ses père et mère grands.

De quel lieu e[s]t sa naissance et à quoi elle s'est particulièrement occupé depuis lors.

Elle dit etre native de Templeuve et d'avoir été deux ou trois hivers [à] l'escholle, mais qu'elle n'a rien grand chose appris, sinon à filer, puis maneuvrer[5] et faire son ménage.

Des causes de son emprisonnement et pourquoi et à quel sujet elle a la réputation d'etre sorcière ?

Elle dit qu'elle y est pour le sujet de ce qu'il n'est point, que ça esté par l'accusation de cette méchante sorcière, mais qu'elle est femme de bien.

Chargé(e) d'etre sorcière, d'avoir abjuré Dieu, Chresme et Bapteme, d'avoir eu et d'avoir encore adhérence au Diable ;

Elle dit de n'avoir point renonchie à Dieu n'y à Chresme n'y à bapteme.

1. *rintoiier ;* la faire rentrer (?) chez elle.
2. *M. Caron.* On pourrait ici corriger *M* en *N*. C'était Noël Caron qui était alors notaire ou plutôt tabellion à Templeuve. Mais s'il s'agit d'une copie datée d'un siècle plus tard, cela pourrait être Maurice Caron.
3. *' pere et mere grands ' :* grand-père et grand-mère ; on disait aussi ' parrain et marraine vieils.'
4. *Pierre de Navarre.* On trouve ce nom dans la liste des ' vingtièmes,' avec le titre de chirurgien.
5. *maneuvrer.* Ici ce mot aurait le sens de tout travail à la main. En patois, *ouvrer* signifie : travailler au champ.

D'avoir esté es assemble[e]s de Diable avec autres sorciers et sorcières, en[tre] autres avec Catherine de Navarre, sa défunte soeur, Allard d'Engremont, Anne Malet, et selon qu'il e[s]t apparu par leur(e) respectives confession et d'accusation.

Elle dist de n'avoir jamais été es assemble[e]s de Diable ni de personne.

Chargé[e] d'y avoir dansé, beu, mangé et d'y avoir eu coputation[1] (*sic*) avec le Diable ;

Dist de n'i avoir beu ny mangé ny avoir eu coputation avec le Diable.

De dire qu'elle auroit été es dites danse[s] et assemble[e]s proches des bois de Hucquin, lors qu'il y avoit des garnison[s] en cette Seigneurie, à l'hyver(s) de 1654 et 1655, du temps de Mr. Campy[2] ;

Elle dist qu'elle n'y a jamais été de sa vie.

Même que lors avec les autres sorcier et sorcières elle auroit tenu conseil et mis en résolution de faire mourir Adrien Fichel, lieutenant, parce qu'il(s) lui imposoi(en)t de les avoir [à] logé ;

Elle dist qu'elle n'at jamais été en conseil de Diable ny sorciers ny sorcières.

Si auroit été en [ass]emblées, danses, proches du Quennelet,[3] au Riez au bois et es près de Louvyl ?

Elle dist qui n'est point vrai[e].

Même avec à présent deffunt(e)s Alard d'Engremont[4] et Catherine Wartel, veuve de Guilleaume d'Engremont, executé[s] pour crisme de sorcellerie.

Dény cette article, disant qu'il n'est point vray.

A elle imposé que, voyant que la justice travailloit à la recherche des sorciers et sorcières à leurs procès, elle est retiré et s'est fait conduire vers Mons ou Bruxelles, par crainte qu'elle ne fut saisit.

Elle dist qu'elle avoit crainte de la justice et qu'on lui disoit qu'on la viendroit prendre.

1. *coputation.* Lire *copulation.*

2. *Mr. Campy.* Il nous a été impossible d'identifier ce nom.

3. *Quennelet.* Cet endroit, souvent mentionné dans les actes du XVII[e] siècle, mais qu'on ne retrouve pas sur les cartes contemporaines, est équivalent à Chesnaie, Quesnoy, lieu planté de chênes. *Riez au bois* (prononcé Rizobô) est un lieu dit de Templeuve ; *riez* signifie lande.

4. *Allard d'Engremont.* Les noms des personnes accusées de sorcellerie montrent que les familles d'Engremont et de Navarre formaient, au milieu du village, une sorte de clan par intermariages. La soeur d'Allard d'Engremont (Catherine) avait épousé un de Navarre (elle était née le 16 juillet 1627, Allard le 25 octobre 1633). Dans l'acte, on appelle Catherine soeur de Marie ; on dit encore au village soeur pour belle-soeur. Catherine Wartel y avait épousé Guillaume d'Engremont, elle fut exécutée ainsi qu'Allard d'Engremont ; on soupçonnait aussi défunte Catherine de Navarre et Anne Malet d'avoir été ' es assemblées de diable.'

D'avoir tacitement[1] confessé à Martin Herbaut, son mari, et à Antoine Bonnier qu'elle est sorcière et qu'elle se retiroit pour le sujet, en disant qu'elle n'oseroit attendre le coup.

Elle a dit qu'il n'est point vray.

Chargé d'etre depuis long tems publiquement réputé sorcière, diffamé d'etre telle et redouté pour telle.

Elle dist qu'il est vray, qu'elle a la réputation d'étre sorcière, mais que son mari(e) n'en a voulu rien faire.[2]

A elle demandé ce qu'elle faisoit au point du jour dans le jardin d'Adrien Fichel, d'où elle venoit si temp(r)e,[3] lorsque Simon Wauquier lui at parlé.

— Dény cet(te) article.

Pourquoi elle étoit ainsi affublé, et puisque dans le jardin [il] n'y avoit rien à [prendre], pourquoy elle faisoit du bruit comme [si] elle eut voulu espouventer des poulet[s] ou oiseaux.

Elle a dist : ne croyez point cela, il n'est point vray.

A elle demandé si elle venoit de la maison du dit Fichel et à qui elle y avoit parlé.

Elle dit qu'elle n'y a point été et qu'il ne faloit parler à personne.[4]

A elle objecté que cela est faux, puisqu'il n'y avoit personne de levé ;

— Dist de rechef qu'elle n'y a point été au dit jardin.

Ce qu'elle faisoit lors [et] d'où elle venoit quand elle étoit sorty de sa maison ?

— Elle dist qu'elle n'at point sorty de sa maison et qu'il ne l'a point trouvé.[5]

A elle imposé qu'elle venoit de quelque[s] assemblées de sorcières ou bien qu'elle travailloit à quelque sorcellerie ou à la recherche de quelques beste[s] vénimeuses.

— Elle dist qu'elle n'a point connoissance d'avoir là esté au point du jour [et] n'y avoir parlé à personne.

Chargé d'avoir ensorcelé, il ya environ dix ans, l'enfant de Mah[i]eu Delebassée,[6] par le moyen d'une pomme qu'elle lui donna, car, en ayant mangé, il en devint malade et estoit

1. *tacitement :* Ce mot est employé improprement par des gens peu au courant des termes de loi ; on mettrait ici : *implicitement.*

2. *n'en a voulu rien faire ;* n'y a pas fait attention.

3. *temp(r)e.* Si tôt. L'expression est encore employée.

4. *qu'il ne faloit parler a personne.* C'est à dire, en s'appuyant sur le contexte : ' qu'il n'y avait personne à qui l'on pût parler.'

5. *trouvé.* On peut remarquer, une fois pour toutes, que l'accord du genre ne se fait pas dans le patois ; on emploie *il* pour *elle ;* on dit : ' Marie, il a été a Lille.' Il faut sous-entendre : chez elle.

6. *Mahieu Delebassée.* On retrouve ce prénom écrit ailleurs *Mathieu.*

en apparence de mourir si on ne se fut avisé de lui faire boire de l'eau de font[1] avec du sel, par le moyen de quoy [il] a laissé [aller] un grand nombre de vers ;

Elle a dist qu'il a menty, disant qu'elle ne savoit point de lui avoir donné une posme.

A elle imposé que ce même jour au soir, elle est allé[e] en la maison du dit Delebassée pour [prier] sa femme de n'en rien dire à personne, lui promettant qu'elle n'y perdroit rien ; sy elle n'en étoit point cappable [coupable ?], elle ne s'en devoit point mettre en peine.

— Elle a dit que cela e[s]t faux et qu'elle n'a point parlé à elle et qu'elle ne sait point sy elle a donné une pomme au dit enfant et du cas qu'elle lui en auroit donnez, il ne seroit point pourtant ensorcelé.

A elle imposé que plusieurs personnes l'ons en diverses occasions nommé sorcière et blamé pour telle, sans qu'elle y ait contredy ou qu'elle en ait fait état.

Elle a dist qu'il n'est point vray.

Si elle a mémoire d'avoir été baillée pour 11 deniers à Margeurite Dedamps pour la nouriture de quelque[s] soldats, sa femme et enfant ;

Dist qu'il ne lui en ressouvient point et puis confesse d'avoir eu des disputes par ensemble.[2]

Si elle a mémoire que Marie Dedamps lui a porté un fromage pour sa part de la nourriture de ses soldats,

Elle dist qu'il ne lui en ressouvient point.

Chargé d'avoir ensorcelé la dite Marie Dedamps en lui rendant son assiette, parce qu'elle est venu subitement malade d'un mal étranger à en mourir, ayant toujour[s] persisté que s'avoit été elle qui l'avoit ensorcelé[e] (et qu'elle est venu . . .) ;

Elle dist que cela est faux.

[Chargée] de dire la vérité ; en cas de refus qu'il y a des moyens pour lui contredire ;

Elle dist qu'elle est contente d'etre contrainte et qu'elle n'a point ensorcelé personne et qu'elle n'est point sorcière.

A elle demandé sy elle a mémoire d'avoir approché Jeane Devendeville, femme de Mathieu Rousseau,[3] couchée en son lit et, pour avoir sujet de la toucher [à] la tête, d'avoir mis malgré elle son cottron[4] desous sa tete.

1. *Eau de font.* Eau bénite, eau des fonts baptismaux. L'eau bénite jouait le rôle principal dans l'exorcisme ; ou la mélangeait aux remèdes (eau avec du sel, de la cire).
2. *par ensemble ;* ensemble.
3. *Jeanne Devendeville*, épouse de Mathieu Rousseau.
4. *cotron.* Sorte de jupe ou jupon (voir : *baie*). C'était un court jupon ; d'après le dicton : ' C'est l'fille d'une bonne maison Squemise passe [dépasse] son coteron.'

Dist d'avoir été voir la dite Devendeville et lui vouloir relever son chevet, mais dist qu'elle ne l'a point attouchée du depuis [et depuis] dist quand elle l'auroit touchée qu'elle ne lui a point fait de mal.

Chargé[e] de l'avoir ensorcelé[e] puisqu'au même moment elle a commencé d'etre affligé[e] d'une maladie qui a été jugé[e] sorcellerie par ceus a le connossant.[1]

— Elle a dist que la dite Devendeville est une mal apprise et qu'elle ne lui a fait nul(le) tort.

A elle dist que la surnommé[e] Devendeville e[s] pret de lui soutenir en jugement partout. Qu'elle advise à ce qu'elle répond[ra].

(A) elle dist qu'elle ne lui a fait aucun tort.

De quel mal elle est affligé[e] lorsqu'elle se jette par terre et fait tant de grimaige [grimaces] ?

Elle dist : quand on a mal à la tete s'étoit des grimaiges et qu'elle se met proche du feu.

A elle dist que c'est autre chose qu'une maladie, puis qu'il passe en si peu de temps, et qu' à un instant elle se transport[e] à boire biere, tabac, brandvin,[2] et rire avec le[s] autres.

Elle dist : Quand le mal de tete est passé, qu'elle n'a plus nul mal et qu'elle boit et mange comme une autre.

Chargée d'avoir aussi ensorcelé Mathieu Rousseau, il peut y avoir cinq mois, et cela en lui donnant un coup de sa main sur l'épaule,[3] lorsqu'elle etoit en la maison de Jean Delebecq, puisqu'il en a devenu[e] incontinent affligé d'un mal jugé semblablement sorcellerie.

Elle dit qu'elle croit bien de l'avoir été trouve[r], mais qu'elle ne sait point si elle l'avoit frappé, et qu'elle ne lui a fait aucun tort.

[Chargée] de dire la vérité.

Elle dist en vérité qu'il ne lui souvient point de l'avoir frappé, et si elle l'a frappé, ce n'étoit point pour lui faire du mal, et qu'elle est femme de bien.

Lesquels intérogations et réponses relues à la dite Marie de Navarre interrogé[e], l'avoir sommé d'y ajouter, restraindre ou autrement chargée ainsi qu'elle voldra, et pour ce qu'elle nous at dist d'y persister de mot à autre, nous les lui avons fait signer, et étoit ainsi signé :

Marcq + de Marie de Navarre.

1. *par ceus a le connossant*, c'est-à-dire qui s'y connaissent, qui sont experts en sorcellerie.

2. *brandvin*. Eau-de-vie. Ce terme est encore employé aujourd'hui (Branntwein).

3. *un coup de sa main sur l'épaule*. Encore au commencement du siècle dernier, le fait de toucher quelqu'un à l'épaule était vu de mauvais œil ; il fallait vite retoucher son interlocuteur, pour détourner le sort.

Ainsi fait, interrogé, les jours, mois et an(s) par devant les Lieutenant(s) et Hommes de fief de Templeuve en Pevèle soussignés. Etoit signé(s) A. Fichel, Mathieu Bonnier, Louis Wauquier, François Wartel, et Mathieu Cabit.

Du 28[ème] jour de novembre XVI [cent] cinquante six par devant les Lieutenant et Hommes de fief de la terre et Seigneurie de Templeuve en Pevèle.

Calenge ou demande que le Lieutenant de la Seigneurie de Templeuve en Pevèle demandeur à cause d'office exhibé contre Marie de Navarre, prisonnier(s) ès prison de céans, par devant vous, Messieurs les Hommes de fief d'icelle Seigneurie, juges compétans en cette cause, après avoir eu communication des informations tenus à l'encontre de la dite Marie de Navarre, ensemble les réponses aux interrogations qu'on lui a proposé, le dix-huitième du présent mois de novembre,

Dist qu'elle en résulte chargé[e] d'etre il y a longtemps en réputation d'etre sorcière parmi tout le peuple et de l'etre effectivement par les renonchions à Dieu, Chresme et à Baptesme, par les continuelles adhérences au Diable, par les caractères qu'elle en porte, par les fréquentations de sabats ou assemblé[e]s noclurent [nocturnes] de sorcières et les actions abominable[s] qu'elle y exerce, selon que proposé lui a été (à) ès dites interrogation[s].

Par dessus quoi(s) est chargé[e] d'avoir fait subitement malade d'une maladie jugé[e] sorcellerie l'enfant Mathieu Delebassée par le moyen d'une pomme qu'elle lui fit manger.

D'avoir ensorcelé et fait mourir Marie Dedamps, lui rendant une assiette sur quoi elle lui avoit porté un fromage, après avoir eu de grosses disputes ; d'avoir pareillement ensorcelé Jenne Devendeville, femme de Mathieu Rousseau, qu'il en a jusqu'à présent été malade de maladie, jugée comme dessus par gens exprets (*sic*) [experts].

D'avoir depuis cinq mois semblablement ensorcelé le surnommé Mathieu Rousseau par un attouchement qu'elle a fait sur son épaule, finalement d'avoir ensorcelé Antoine Bonnier à son retour du village d'Ers,[1] en lui donnant un craquelin,[2] selon qu'il apparu[t] par la maladie qu'il a subitement contracté après en avoir(s) mangé et de ce que, s'étant fait exorcise[r] l'espace de quinze jours au village de Wammes,[3] il a enfin

1. *Ers.* Erre près Fenain (Nord).
2. *Craquelin* ; sorte de pâtisserie sèche en forme de huit.
3. *Wammes ; Vianes* près de Grammont (Hainaut) ?

rejetté se tort [le sort] par la bouche en forme d'une bete portant trois cornes.

Par tout quoi étant la dite prisonnière jugé sorcière et homicide, conclu à se que par votre sentence et pour réparation des cas susdits elle soit punie selon les droit[s] et les placarts.[1]

A quelle fin et fait offre de preuve[s] suffisantes, après que lecture a été faite de cette calange[2] à la dite Marie de Navarre, nous, Hommes de fief, nous avons dit qu'elle aura copie, si elle le requiert, et qu'elle y poudra dire ce que[le] poldra pour sa justification, en dedans sep[t]s jours peremptoirement compté[s] de ce jourd'hui, et que par meme[s] moyens elle dénoncera les témoins et désignera les premiers, lesquels elle voldra se servir à ce dit effet pour le fait être ultérieurement procédé selon raison.

— Fait, prononché en la dist [H]alle du dit Templeuve en Pevèle les jours, mois et an par devant que dessus, et étoit ainsi signé :

A. Fichel, Mathieu Bonnier, Jean Duburcq, Mathieu Cabit, Louis Mahel.

La dite Marie de Navarre, après lecture à elle faite de tout ce que dessus, elle a répondu qu'elle ne veut point procéde(r), disant qu'elle se submet au droit et ordonnance que feroit Messieurs les Conselleurs et avocats, ensemble de Messieurs de la cour. En témoin et pour approbation de ce que dessus, la dite Marie de Navarre i a mis et apposé son signe manuel et étoit ainsi signé :

Marcq + de Marie de Navarre.

Ainsi fait et déclaré, les jours, mois et an que dessus, par devant les hommes de fief soussignés et estoit ainsi signé :

Mathieu Bonnier, Jean Duburcq, Louis Mahel, Mathieu Cabit.

Du XI[e] dexe[m]bre XVI [cent] cinquante six, par devant les Lieutenant et Homme[s] de fief de la terre et Seigneurie de Templeuve en Pevèle a été fait ce qu'il s'ensuit :

Confrontation fait[e] par Marie de Navarre et Antoine Bonnier l'un devant l'autre.

Eté demandé par Messieurs de la justice à la dite Marie de Navarre, savoir si elle connoissait bien Antoine Bonnier dit Brodat ;[3]

1. *Placarts ;* affiches. On mettait les proclamations dans un grand cadre en bois, appelé *bertèque.*
2. *Calenge.* Réquisitoire (*anglice*, challenge).
3. *Bonnier* dit *Brodat.* Ce nom d'hochet ou sobriquet est encore employé dans beaucoup de villages, sous cette forme ou celle de Bodat, Bodard. (Cf. *Germinie Lacerteux* et les *Noms d'Hochet*, ' Pays de Pevèle ').

Elle a répondu que ouy, mais qu'elle n'avoit point [été ?] avec lui.

Le dit Antoine Bonnier lui a dit que s'avoit été elle qu'elle l'avoit ensorcelé en lui baillant un craquelin.

La dite Marie de Navarre lui a dist qu'il en at menty et qu'elle est une femme de bien et qu'il n'y a que de dire à elle et quant il s'en est allé hors la maison il avoit le maltrez[1] et que ce n'e[s]t point elle qu'elle l'at ensorcelé.

Persisté par le dit Bonnier, lui disant ' que tu menty aussi. Cha été toy qu'il m'at ensorcelé ; [je] l'ay fait paroitre à messieurs par une lettre écrite du pasteur de Wammes,' comme il a là été quinze jours pour s'y faire exauschisé [exorcisé] ou guérir.

Savoir pourquoi elle a demandé au dit Antoine Bonnier pour l'emmener hors du village et s'il est vray ?

Elle a répondu que ouy, et qu'elle avoit peur de la justice, craindant d'etre prise et etre mise en prison.

Le dit Bonnier a dit que lors il battoit du grain en la grange de la dite Marie de Navarre et qu'elle a envoyé Mathieu Herbaut, son mary, le prier de l'aller conduire jusques au[x] proches de Tournay.

Dist le dist Bonnier, en étant en chemin avecq ycelle Marie de Navarre, qu'il s'informat pourquoy elle s'en alloit et sécité [s'éxiloit] soy-mesme hors du pays. Elle lui at fait response qu'elle avoit peur de la justice et disoit ' qu'ils me boutteroi[en]t en prison pour une sorcière ' et qu'elle n'oseroit point attendre le coup.

La dite Marie de Navarre a répondu qu'il est véritable sy elle a confessé de lui avoir donné un craquelin, mais elle dist qu'elle ne l'at point ensorcelé.

Persisté par le dist Bonnier en la présence de la dite Marie de Navarre qu'elle l'at ensorcelé et empoisonné avec le dit craquelin ; [il] a dit qu'il ne l'at point plutot mangé qu'il s'a senty malade d'un grand mal d'estomacq, en disant qu'il maintient auprès de Messieurs de la justice qu'elle l'at empoisonné et dist [que] quand il auroit le maistre des haul(t)e[s] oeuvre[s] pour le faire mourir qu'il ne s'en dédira jamais et qu'il est véritable. Et pour approbation de vérité le dist Antoine Bonnier a ici [et] opposé son signe manuel et étoit ainsi signé

Marcq + de antoine bonnier.

Le dist jour a été confronté Mathieu Rousseau à la dite Marie de Navarre l'un devant l'autre.

1. *maltrez.* maltrait.

A été demandé au dit Rousseau s'il connoissoit bien la dite Marie de Navarre.

Il a dist que ouy et qu'elle l'a frappé en la maison de Jean Delebecq et du dit frappement dist que la dite Marie de Navarre l'a ensorcelé.

La dite Marie de Navarre a répondu qu'elle ne l'at point ensorcelé ny frappé, et sy elle l'a frappé, elle dist qu'il ne lui en souvient point, en disant que si elle l'avoit frappé, qu'elle ne l'a point ensorcelé.

(Le dit a) persisté par le dist Rousseau, en disant à le dite Marie de Navarre qu'elle l'a ensorcelé.

La dite Marie de Navarre lui a dit qu'il a menty.

Et ont donné plusieurs dément[s] l'ung à l'autre.

A été persisté de rechief par le dit Rousseau que ça été la dite Marie de Navarre qu'elle l'a ensorcelé, at dit qu'il le maintient et le maintiendra ' quant l'on me devroit faire mourir.'

En témoignage et pour approbation de verité a ici mis(e) et opposé son signe manuel et étoit ainsi signé

Matieu Rousseau.

A été confronté Jeane Devendeville à la dite Marie de Navarre, l'un devant l'autre.

A été demandé à la dite Jeane Devendeville si elle connoissoit bien la dite Marie de Navarre et pour qui elle le tenoit,

A été répondu qu'elle le tenoit pour une sorcière et point d'autre et que ça été la dite Marie de Navarre qu'elle l'a ensorchelé, faisant mention de mettre une baie[1] dessous sa tête.

La dite Marie de Navarre a confessé de vouloir mettre une baye dessous la tete d'icelle Jean Devendeville et tacher de relever son chevest, en disant ' sy elle a relevé son chevest qu'elle ne l'a point ensorcelé.'

A été persisté par la dite Jeane Devendeville, disant à la dite Marie de Navarre que ça été elle quelle l'a ensorcelé—en donnant plusieurs démentys l'un à l'autre, tellement que la dite Jeane Devendeville a toujours maintenu que la dite Marie de Navarre l'a ensorcelé[e].

De quoi et pour approbation de vérité a ici mise et opposé son signe manuel, et étoit ainsi signé :

Marcq + de Jeane Devendeville.

Le dit jour a été confronté comme dessus Marguerite Dedamps à la dite Marie de Navarre.

A été dit par la dite Marguerite Dedamps que sa soeur lui avoit [dit] du temps qu'elle étoit malade, et que auparavant

1. *baie.* Voir *cottron, ante.*

sa maladie, elle avoit porté un fromage à la dite Marie de Navarre, du tems qu'il y avoit des soldats en garnison. La dite Marie de Navarre a ensorcelé sa dite soeur en lui rendant son assiette sur quoy elle avoit porté son dit fromage.

La dite Marie de Navarre a répondu que cela est faux et qu'elle ne lui a jamais fait aucun fort.

A été persisté par la dite Marguerite Dedamps, disant que sa dite sœur lui a dit pendant sa dite maladie qu'elle en demandoit[1] à la dite Marie de Navarre, qu'elle l'avoit ensorcelé[e] ou empoisonné[e].

Pour approbation de vérité la dite Marguerite Dedamps a ici mise et opposé son signe manuel. Etoit ainsi signé :

Marguerite Dedamps.

Le dit jour a été confronté Isabeau Wochel[2] et Marie de Navarre l'un devant l'autre.

La dite Isabeau Wochel a dist à la dite Marie de Navarre qu'elle a ensorcelé son fils en lui baillant une pomme. Disant (à) la dite Isabeau Wochel qu'elle vouloit mettre cuire la dite pomme et la dite Marie de Navarre ne l'a point vollut, en disant ; ' Laisse lui, il est trop aigre.'

A été répondu par la dite Marie de Navarre, en disant (du) ' f . . . re tu a[s] menty.'

Persisté par la dite Isabeau Wochel qu'elle n'a point menty et que la dite Marie de Navarre a ensorcelé son fils.

Et pour approbation de vérité la dite Isabeau Wochel a ici mise et opposé son signe manuel et estoit ainsi signé

Marcq + d' Isabeau Wochel.

Ainsi fait et confronté par devant les Lieutenant et Homme[s] de fief du dit Templeuve sousignés.

Estoit ainsi signé

A. Fichel, Louis Rogier, Louis Mahel, Philippe Bonnier, François Lefebvre.

Du XI[e] jour de décembre XVI [cent] cinquante six, par devant les Lieutenant et Homme[s] de fief de la terre et Seigneurie de Templeuve en Pevèle et en la [H]alle du dit lieu, [a] comparu Marie de Navarre, femme de Martin Herbeaut, prisonnièr[e] es prison du dit Templeuve en Pevèle ; après lui avoir fait lecture, si elle voloit faire aucun delavoir[3] de

1. *elle en demandoit ;* en demander à quelqu' un, accuser.

2. *Isabeau Wochel.* Une des voisines et accusatrices de Marie de Navarre, née de 15 août 1604. Le nom subsiste encore, épelé *Vauchel.*

3. *delavoir.* Mot évidemment estropié dans la copie ; est-ce ' déclaration ' ?

preuve de sa justification et décharge, elle a respondu qu'elle n'a nulle preuve à faire et qu'elle se submet au droit et ordonnance de Messieurs de la justice et des conseillers et avocats, comme elle a fait semblablement le XXVIII de novembre dernier. Si lui a été demandé et fait lecture des témoignages contre elle faits, meme ayant fait(s) confronte[r] par devant elle les dist témoings, et lui demandé si elle avoit quelque chose à reprocher contre eux, elle a répondu qu'elle ne savoit que reproche contre eux. En témoin de ce que dessus elle avoit ici mis(e) et opposé son signe manuel. Etoit ainsi signé

Marcq + de Marie de Navarre.

Ainsi fait et déclaré les jours, mois et an que dessus par devant les Lieutenant et Homme[s] de fief soussigné[s] et étoit ainsi signé

A. Fichel, Louis Rogier, Louis Mahel, Antoine Castelaing, François Lefebvre, et Philippe Bonnier.

Le dit jour le dit Lieutenant de cette Seigneurie, demandant à cause d'office contre Marie de Navarre, a déclaré avoir fait et parfait les preuves et enquête tant par recossement en emplication des témoins qu'autrement.

Ainsi fait et déclaré par devant les Hommes de fief du dit Templeuve en Pevèle sousigné[s] et estoit ainsi signé

Louis Mahel, Louis Rogier, Philippe Bonnier, François Lefebvre.

Du quatorzième de X^bre^ XVI [cent] cinquante six par devant les Lieutenant et Hommes de fief de Templeuve en Pevèle, interrogation[s] faites à la personne de Marie de Navarre si elle a eu congnoissance de feu Catherine Delebecq et de une sienne fille,

Répondu par la dite Marie qu'elle étoit femme de Pierre Delannoy ; respondu qu'elle ne se souvient point d'avoir connu sa petite fille.

— Si elle sçait de quelle maladie elle[s] sont venus à mourir.

Chargé[e] qu'elle les a tous deux ensorcelé, et qu'en effet la dite Catherine lui inquit la mort de sa fille et la sienne pendant sa maladie.

— Répondu en colère qu'elle est femme de bien et qu'elle ne les a point fait mourir.

Si elle n'at jamais été voir[e] la dite Catherine Delebecq pendant sa maladie.

Respondu si elle a été en la maison du dit Delebecq et si elle a porté quelque chose, se fut par compassion et non pour les ensorceler.

Tout[es] les parties icy desmentionnées, après lui en avoir fait lecture à la dite Marie savoir si elle y volloit croistre ou diminuer quelque chose. Respondu par icelle qu'elle n'y volloit croistre ny diminuer. En vertu de quoi la dite Marie a signé. Estoit ainsi signé

Marque de Marie de Navarre.

Ainsi fait ce jour et an par devant Messieurs le Lieutenant et Homme[s] de fief sousignés et estoit ainsi signé :

A. Fichel, Antoine Castelain, Jean Duburcq.

Du XVI de décembre XVI [cent] cinquante six, par devant les Hommes de fief de la terre et Seigneurie de Templeuve en Pevèle, vu le procès criminel par nous fait à la calange et poursuite du Lieutenant de cette Seigneurie, demandeur à cause d'office, à l'encontre de Marie de Navarre, femme de Martin Herbeaut, prisonnièr[e] qui la suds et en fit se advis,[1] avons dit et disons que pour plus amplement savoir par sa bouche la vérité des crimes qui lui sont imposés et dont mention [est] faite au dit procès, elle sera mise en torture et question extraordinaire, et icelle ouï[e] et interrogé[e] en sa salle du dit Templeuve, le dit jour, mois et an. Et estoit signé ainsi

M[aurice] Caron.

Du XVII[e] de décembre 1756 [1656], par devant les Lieutenant et Hommes de fief de Templeuve en Pevèle,

Interrogation proposé[e] à Marie de Navarre, femme de Martin Herbaut, prisonnièr[e] es prison dudit Templeuve en Pevèle, après lui avoir fait lecture de sa sentence de torture.

Pourquoi et à quel[le] sujet elle a réputation d'estre sorcière, elle dit que ça été cette méchante sorchière qu'il l'a accusé[e] et que s'étoit qu'il[s] avoient la haine contre elle.

Chargé[e] d'etre sorcière, d'avoir abjuré Dieu, Chresme et Bapteme ; d'avoir eu et d'avoir encore adhérence au Diable.

Dist avec un cry bien haut qu'elle n'a point renonchie à Dieu, et de n'avoir coputation avec le Diable.

D'avoir été es assemblé[es] de Diable avec autre[s] sorciers et sorchièr[e]s, entre autre[s] avecq Catherine de Navarre, sa défunte soeur, Alard d'Engremont, Anne Malet et autre[s].

Elle dist qu'elle n'a jamais été es assemblé[e]s de Diable ny de sorciers et sorcières.

Chargé[e] d'y avoir bu, dansé, mangé, et d'y avoir coputation avec le Diable.

1. *qui la suds . . . advis.* Même observation que note 3, p. 175.

Dit qu'elle n'a dancé nulle part, ny eu coputation avec le Diable.

Si elle avoit été es dite[s] danse[s] et assemblé[es] ; proches du bois de Hucquin, lorsqu'il y avoit des garnison[s] au dit Templeuve, à l'hiver [de] XVI [cent] cinquante quatre et XVI [cent] cinquante cinq, du temps de Mr. Campy.

Elle dist qu'elle n'y a point été et dit qu'elle dira toujours ainsy.

Et que lors avec les autres sorciers et sorcières elle auroit tenu conseil et mise en résolution de faire mourir Adrien Fichel, Lieutenant, parce qu'elle lui imposoit de les avoir logés.

Elle dit qu'elle e[s]t femme de bien et qu'elle n'a eu nul conseil de Diable.

Si elle auroit été en semblable danses, proche du Quennelet et au Riez au bois et es pretz de Louvy.

Dit qu'il n'est point vray.

Que avec à présent défunt Alard d'Engremont et autres, exécutés pour le dit crime de sorchellerie.

Dist qu'il n'est point vray.

Voiant que la justice travailloit à la recherche des sorcier[s] et sorchières à leur procé[s], elle s'est réfugié[e], s'est fait conduire vers Mons pour crainte qu'elle ne fut saisi.

Elle dist qu'elle s'en alloit et qu'elle ne vouloit point etre es main[s] de la justice.

D'avoir confessé à Martin Herbaut, son mary, et à Antoine Bonnier qu'elle est sorcière et qu'elle se retiroit pour ce sujet.

Elle dist qu'elle n'a point dit cela, qu'elle estoit femme de bien, et qu'elle s'en alloit parce qu'elle ne volloit point etre es main de la justice.

D'etre depuis longtemps publiquement réputé[e] sorcière, diffamé[e] et redouté[e] pour l'être.

Elle dist qu'elle n'a jamais ouy parler de cela, si non que depuis lors qu'on fait des executions de sorchiers et de sorchières.

A elle demandé se qu'elle faisoit au point du jour dans le jardin d'Adrien Fichel, d'où elle venoit si tempre, lorsque Simon Wauquier lui a parlé.

Elle dist qu'il n'y a personne qui l'a là trouvé.

Pourquoi elle étoit ainsi affulé, et puisque dans se jardin il n'y avoit rien à faire ny à sa[quer ?], pourquoi elle faisoit du bruit comme si elle eut volu espouventer des poules ou oiseau[x].

Elle dist qu'il n'est point vrai et puis dit qu'elle revenoit de la maison de Pierre Chuffart pour voir de l'estrain.

Si elle venoit de la maison du dit Fichel et à qui elle avoit parlé ?

Dit qu'elle ne sait point à qui elle y avoit parlé.

A [t] elle objecté que cela est faux puis qu'il n'y avoit personne de levé.

Dist qu'elle a été en la maison. Dist qu'elle venoit du logis Pierre Chuffart.

A elle dist qu'elle venoit de quelque assemblé[e] de sorcière[s] ou bien qu'elle travailloit à quelque sorcellerie ou à la recherche de quelque bête venimeuse.

Elle dist : 'Voilà une terrible affaire de chercher tant de conte[s][1] et que cela n'est point vray.'

D'avoir ensorcelé, il y a environ dix ans, l'enfant Mathieu Delebassée, par le moyen d'une posme qu'elle lui donna.

Elle dist que cela est faux et qu'elle est femme de bien.

Le même jour au soir elle est allé[e] en la maison du dit Delebassée prier sa femme de ne rien dire à personne lui promettant qu'elle n'y perderoit rien.

Dist que cela n'est point vray.

Sy elle n'en étoit point capable, elle ne s'en devroit point mettre en peine.

Dist qu'elle n'y a point été.

A elle imposé que plusieurs personnes l'ont en divers occasions nommé[e] sorcière et blasmé[e] comme telle sans qu'elle y ait contredit ou qu'elle en a fait état.

Elle dist qu'elle n'a jamais été appelé[e] sorcière.

D'avoir ensorcelé Marie Dedamps en lui rendant une assiette, qu'elle lui avoit apporté une fromage pour la nourriture de quelques soldats, femme et enfans.

Elle dist qui ne faut mettre nulle cause contre elle, tout e[s]t faux.

— D'avoir ensor[c]elé Jeane Devendeville, femme de Mathieu Rousseau, en mettant la main malgré elle proche de sa tete, fais(s)ant semblant de relever son chevest.

Dist qu'elle n'a ensor[c]elé personne du monde et qu'elle est femme de bien.

D'avoir aussi ensor[c]elé Mathieu Rousseau en lui donnant un coup de main desur l'épaule, lorsqu'il étoit en la maison de Jean Delebecq.

Elle dist que cela n'est point vrai.

Si elle n'a eu congnoissance de feu Catherine Delebecq et une des siennes filles ?

Dist qu'elle [l'] a bien congnu et aussi sa fille.

1. *chercher tant de contes.* Expression encore usitée : faire tant de contes, chercher tant de raisons.

Si elle sait de quelle maladie elle[s] sont venu à mourir ?

Elle dist qu'elle ne sest point comment il[s] sont mort.

Chargé[e] qu'elle l[es] a tous deux ensorchelé et que la dite Catherine Delebecq lui inquit[1] la mort de sa fille et la sienne.

Elle dist que cela n'est point vrai(e), qu'elle leur en [a] fait aucun tort et qu'elle est offensé[e] contre cette mal disante.

Lesquel interrogation et réponse relue[s] à la dite Marie de Navarre, l'avoir sommé d'y adjouter, respondre ou autre, changer ainsi qu'elle voldroit — Et pour ce qu'elle nous a dit d'y persister de mot à autre, nous les lui avons fait signer.

Etoit signé

Marcq de Marie de Navarre.

Aussi [ainsi] fait et interrogé le dist jour, mois et an, par devant les Lieutenant et Homme[s] de fief soubsignez.

Etoit ainsi signé :

A. Fichel, Louis Rogier, Catherine Wartel, Anne Malet, Alard Wartel, Catherine de Navarre, sœur Alard d'Engremont.

CHARLES BONNIER

Templeuve, Nord

1. *inquit.* Enquit ; lui reprocha, l'accusa de.

GERMAN PAMPHLETS IN PROSE AND VERSE ON THE TRIAL AND DEATH OF CHARLES I

I

The tragedy enacted at Whitehall on January 30th, 1649 (old style), did not perhaps cause quite so much fear and trembling among the potentates on the Continent of Europe and those nearest to their thrones as did the somewhat similar, though more gruesome one, enacted at Paris on January 21st, 1793. At any rate, the young republic was not involved by this bold stroke in a European war. The powers, though they withheld, for the time being, their formal recognition of the new government, yet remained strictly neutral, in spite of the endeavours of the Royalists to move them into action.[1] Hence, much of what an anonymous German pamphleteer says in the following passage[2] must be received *cum grano salis*:

. . . . . ob solcher That | alle Cronen erzittert | die Potentaten erbidmet | vnd so gar die Wilden Völker sich hefftigs entsetzet.

And the same applies to Phillip von Zesen's prefatory words[3]:

Die welt erzittert | der himmel selbst böbet | die Fürsten ergrimmen | die Könige der erden flammen für zorne | dan der ruf dieser gantz-neuen | erschröklichen geschicht | ja der ruf des durch gotlose verwegenheit und scheingerechtigkeit vergossenen königlichen bluhtes durch-dringt die gantze welt | und seine rach-schreiende stimme zihet | als ein magnet oder liebes-stein | der Gewaltigen geschärft und zorn-dreuendes stahl nach sich. Die hand der Gelehrten zittert | indem sie diese abscheuliche unmenschligkeit eines solchen weibisch-geahrteten Volkes | das eines einigen Frauen-bildes [i.e., Elisabeth] beherschung | mehr | als fast aller ihrer könige | hat ertragen wollen | der nach-welt zu lesen hinterlassen hat.

But albeit no disturbance of the European equilibrium resulted from it, public opinion on the Continent resented this rude attack upon the sacred person of an anointed king. In Germany—more particularly in her northern and central parts—the regicides and their partisans were denounced from the pulpits as 'höllische Geister,' and the general indignation, shared by Protestants and Catholics alike, vented itself in pamphlets, in pompous orations, put into the mouth of Charles,

1. Cf. A. Stern, *Geschichte der Revolution in England*, 1881, p. 218.
2. From *Idea Anglicana*, cf. below.
3. *Zweifache Rede, welche Karl der erste, König in Engelland, bei seinem über ihn gefälleten Todesurteile vorbringen können*, cf. below; and again by the same author: *Die verschmähete, doch wieder erhöhete Majestäht*, etc., 1661.

in songs, nay even in the more ambitious form of a drama.[1] And everywhere the martyr's crown was set on Charles's head.

First of all, of course, mere human curiosity had to be satisfied as to the details of the trial and execution, and as to the royal victim's behaviour and utterances at that occasion; moreover, a graphic account of such details would certainly prove lucrative to the booksellers, just as nowadays exciting trials and executions provide welcome copy for journalists. Accordingly, there appeared, very soon after the event, German translations of such accounts made either directly from 'Copey von Londen' or indirectly through Dutch intermediaries. The following may serve as specimens:—(1) *Motiven | vnd | Beschüldigung | der Gemeinden von Engeland | Gegen vnd wider | Ihr Königl. Maiestät | Carl Stuart | Vor den Minnenbrüder im Loreet. Nach der Copey von Londen* 1649 [2 leaves in 4°].[2] (2) *Prozess vnd Urtteil | Aussgesprochen wider | Carl Stuart . . . . Erstlich aus dem Englischen ins Niederländische vnd fürders | anitzo in Hochdeutscher Sprach übersetzet vnd gedruckt.* [4 leaves in 4°]. (3) *Ihrer königl. Mayestät | in Engelandt | Letzte | Oration | vnd | darauf erfolgte Traurige | Execution | . . . . . Vor den Minnenbrüder im Loreet. Gedruckt nach der Copey von Londen* 1649.[3] With the full-page portraits of Charles and Th. Fairfax and the bust of the king as a frontispiece. [4 leaves in 4°]. (4) *Wunderbarlicher . . . vnnd uberauss Trawriger Schaw Spiegel . . . . Gedruckt im Jahr Christi* 1649 [s. l., 4 leaves in 4°]. It is a collection of two letters from London and one from the Graven Hage (The Hague) to which is added a *warhafftige*

1. This paper being confined to Pamphlet literature, I will merely mention its author and title: *Ermordete Majestät. Oder Carolus Stuardus, König von Gross Britannien. Trauer-Spil* by *Andreas Gryphius*. *Gryphius*, undoubtedly the best German dramatist of the seventeenth century, sketched his first conception of the drama in 1649 under the immediate impression of the horrible deed, and was the first to bring upon the stage a contemporary personage. Pamphlets, especially the *Englisch Memorial* (cf. below), the *Eikon basilike* (translated in 1649), a tract *Clamor sanguinis regis*, served him as sources. The play, however, did not appear before 1657 and again in an enlarged form in 1663 after G. had become acquainted with Phil. v. Zesen's *Die verschmähete . . . Majestät* (cf. note 1, p. 184). Cf. H. Palm, *Andreas Gryphius Trauerspiele*, Stuttgart Lit. Ver., Vol. 162, p. 345, etc. The impression produced by Gryphius's play on a contemporary is exemplified by the following lines taken from M. Abr. Lindner *Des edlen Andreas Gryphius zwar plötzlicher | doch seligster Tod schuldigst betrauret.* Steinaw an der Oder (1665 ?):

Da durch unmenschlich Wütten
An Hoher Majestät des Koniges der Britten
Der Hencker sich vergreifft. Da Göttlicher Poet |
(Wer giebts Poeten ein ?) du gleich als ein Prophet
Was Carles Sohn erlebt | zuvor hast können sagen |
Wie ? solte nicht der Mund belohnung davon tragen |
Der übern König Heil | Rach übern Mörder schreyt ?

2. Original: *The Charge of the Commons of England against Charles Stuart . . .* R. Herford, London, 1648.

3. Cf. *King Charls his Speech made upon the Scaffold . . .* Published by special Authority. London, by Peter Cole . . . . 1649.

Erklärung Ihr. königl. Majest. . . . wider dieses vnrechtmässige verfahren der Fairfaxischen Armee | So sie selbst einem jhrer Diener kurtz vor jhrem Endt gegeben | vnd zu Befridigung jhres Volcks aussgehen wollen lassen.[1] [4 leaves, 4°, s. l.]. (5) *Vollständiges Englisches Memorial | . . . Alles mit . . . Fleiss | nach der Copey von Londen in das Hochteutsche . . . übergesetzet . . .* 1649, a more extensive, and, to judge from the numerous German and Dutch editions, an eagerly read work containing the trial and execution of the Earl of Strafford and others besides those of the king.[2] The book, in this edition, is embellished with portraits of Charles, Cromwell, Fairfax, Thomas Wentworth, William Laud, and a fine engraving representing the scaffold scene.[3]

The same engraving adorns the upper portion of a broadsheet printed at Strassburg by *Peter Aubri dem Kupfferstecher* [1649] which purports to be a *Historische Erzehlung von Geburt | Leben vnd Tod des weyland durchleuchtigen . . . Carl Stuarts, Königs in Gross Britanien . . .* and concludes with an invocation of God's blessing on the queen and her children, especially on Prince Charles, the designate King of Scotland and Ireland. Its style and get-up would be likely to appeal to popular taste and to find a ready sale; indeed there is at least one other edition of it printed at Frankfurt (1650 ?). Eleven years later the life and death of Charles formed the contents of an extensive article in a Frankfort periodical, p. 430-525 of *Philemeri Irenicii Elisi Continuatio III. Diarii Europaei, Frankfurt a/M.* 1660. At the end, the author expresses his great satisfaction at the news, just received, that the Commons had chosen Charles II as king.

II

Of a more independent character is the following tract from the preface of which we have already quoted above:—*Idea Anglicana oder Politische Erklärung vnverwandter Gemüths-Gedanken über dess Königs Caroli Stuardi Hinrichtung. Gedruckt im Jahr* 1657. The author declares himself to be entirely unbiassed, but the whole tone of this 'Apologia Caroli I'—for this forms the contents of the greater part of this book—and still more his survey of Cromwellian politics, and his sharp

1. Cf. *His Majesties Declaration concerning the treaty: and his dislike of the Armies proceedings . .* London, 1648.

2. Principal sources: the tract mentioned in the preceding note and *A perfect Narrative of the . . . proceedings of the High Court of Justice in the Trial of the king.* London, for John Playford, 1648. nos. 1-3.

3. Possibly identical with the one in F. Frankus, *Relationis historicae semestralis continuatio . .* 1648 *biss auf diese Ostermess dieses* 1649. *Jahrs*, though I have not seen the book myself.

criticism of the alliance with France, clearly betray his strong royalist leanings. This is attested by his hopes expressed in the concluding words :

dass der Untergang der eben ausgelaufenen englischen Flotte eine Gelegenheit seyn dürfte, dass Carolus (II.) mit seiner Macht sich vor Londen erzeigen, die Widerwertigen erschrecken, die Gewogene aber erfrewen vnd durch theils Engelländer | auch der Schotten Devotion dermalen einist zur Cron widerumb gelangen möchte | darumben Er in solchem Fall Hispanien ewig verbunden | Franckreich aber ein desto unversöhnlicher Feind leben müste je weniger das Geblüt ihne von seinen Rechten ausszuschliessen vnd also zu tractieren zulassen sollen.

Whilst here a politician is speaking, August Buchner, poet and 'Professor eloquenciae' at Wittenberg University (+ 1661), had launched, already in 1649, a highly oratorical pamphlet :— *Quid | Carolus I | Britanniorum Rex | loqui potuerit lata in | se ferali sententia | Oratio, | seu | Declamatio | Gemina.* It is couched in the bombastic style reminiscent of Seneca, and, like all the other pamphlets and songs under discussion, is inspired by the then prevalent political theory of the divine right of kings and of the sacredness of their persons. He must have had no little success with these panegyrics, for there are, at any rate, two translations of these fictitious orations into German ; one possibly by Buchner himself, the other by the well-known poet and novelist Philipp v. Zesen[1] whose German (cf. the second quotation above) is not less high-flown than the Latin of his master.

In our opinion much more pleasing than this merely oratorical effort, and, at the same time, perhaps the most original prose contribution to our subject, is a small Pamphlet of six leaves in 4° with the following title :—*Gespräch zwischen dem Englischen Pickelhering vnd Frantzösischen Jan Potagchen über das Schändliche Hinrichten Königlicher Mayestät in Engeland | Schott- und Irland.* Then follows an engraving representing *Pekelhering* and *Jan potasche* in their respective stage costume.[2]

1. *Zweifache Rede, welche Karl der erste, König in Engelland, bei seinem über ihn gefälletem Todesurteile vorbringen können.* Wittenberg, 1649. In 1661 Zesen published a very readable, though uncritical, book on the Restoration : *Die verschmähete, doch wieder erhöhete Majestäht d. i. Karls des Zweiten . . . Wundergeschicht*, in the early parts of which he surveys the life and death of Charles I. He, too, is greatly indebted to the *Englisches Memorial.*

2. For another edition (the names of the clowns spell : *Bickel-Hering* and *Schanpetasen* [and *Schampetasche*]), cf. A. C. Loffelt in *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft IV*, p. 377, etc. L. deals with the pamphlet only from the standpoint of its bearing on the English actors in Germany ; cf. also W. Creizenach, *Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten*, p. xciii, etc. I have come across a third edition in L. Rosenthal's *Catalogue of second-hand books*, no. 113 as lot 2513. Here it is dated 1649, and as the spelling of the clowns' names agrees with Loffelt's edition, this latter may be directly derived from it.

Jan Potage, attracted by *Pickelhering's* vociferous lament, asks for the reason of this noise :—

Pickelhering : Hey was sol mir seyn | hätte ich die Schelmen hier | die solch Unglück angerichtet | ich wolte sie mit meinem zeschel in stücken zerhawen.

Jan Potage : Was dann vor Schelmen ? sage mirs doch | ich will dir helffen | dass wir desto eher mit ihnen fertig werden.

P. : Ey | die Königs mörder in Engeland | die mir meinen König | als einen offenbaren Mörder | vnd ärgsten Ubelthäter | so schändlich den Kopff abgehawen haben.

Jan Potage is at first inclined to defend the regicides because of a tract which the new government in England has had publicly printed, wherein the reasons are shown :—

Warumb sie den König vom Brodt abgethan | vnnd dass es besser wäre einen freyen Stat | als wie die Holländer | Venediger | Schweitzer vnd andere auffzurichten.'[1]

But *Pickelhering* soon succeeds in converting him. The king may have erred—it is quite unusual for these pamphleteers and song writers to acknowledge even so much—but this is no reason for violating the divine rights and sacredness of the anointed ; moreover, he was the victim of evil and self-seeking councillors, and more especially of the excesses of Fairfax. To grant so great a power to him and to his lieutenant Cromwell was the greatest fault committed by Parliament, and, says *Pickelhering* :—

Wäre vor diesem Anno 1634 dem Käyserl. General Wallenstein | der auch so grosse Gewalt vnd Plenipotentz von seinem Käyser gehabt | zu Eger nicht mit einer Partisanen durch einen Engeländer Lufft zum Hertzen gemacht | vnd er bey zeiten aus dem Weg geräumet worden | er hätte dörffen ein übler Spiel anrichten.

Jan Potage, now thoroughly converted, expresses the hope that God will punish the guilty ones as already ' Dorislaus, des Blutrats Advocat,'[2] has met with a just reward.

They say good-bye to each other :—

P. : Adieu | Wo kommen wir zum nechsten wieder zusammen ?

J. P. : In Engeland | da wir vnsere Lust an des Königs Feinden sehen wollen.

P. : AMEN.

1. Probably a reference to *A true Narration of the Title, Government, and Cause of the Death of the late Charles Stuart, King of England . . .* Published by Authority. London, printed for R.W., 1649, but the following German text will have been the direct source : *Einige Declarationen von dem Parlament von Engelland, verklärend den Grund ihrer Proceduren und gegenwärtiger Anstiftung einer Regierung eines freyen Staats*, London (i.e., Amsterdam), 1649 (cf. Weller, *Die falschen u. fingierten Druckorte*, Leipzig, 1834, p. 28).

2. Cf. R. S. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth*, etc., 1894, I, 72 ff.

III

We, too, may now fittingly take leave of the prose pamphlets in order to glance at some writings in verse. In quantity and quality they seem to be superior to those evoked by the execution of Louis XVI, at least if we may judge from those adduced by E. Sauer in his book *Die französische Revolution von* 1789 *in zeitgenössischen deutschen Flugschriften vnd Dichtungen;* Weimar, 1913, p. 46, etc.

We begin with a poem which claims to be but a translation :— *Ihrer königl. Majestät von Engelland Caroli Klag-oder Sterb-Lied | auss Dem Englischen ins Holländisch | vnd Holländisch ins Teutsch versetzt. In der Melodey :*

Wol dem der sich nun lässt vergnügen
An dem was ihm das Glücke gibt.

Im Jahr 1649. [2 leaves in 4°, Brit. Mus. 1347, a. 59].[1]

As a matter of fact this remark is borrowed from one of the numerous prose pamphlets, where it was justified; for the poem which comprises nine stanzas and is steeped in sentimentality, is an original production by G. Greflinger, and may be found p. 39 of the Appendix (*Schimpff vnd Ernsthaffter Gedichte*) to Celadon's (i.e., Greflinger's) *Weltliche Lieder*, Frankfurt a/M. 1651. It should be mentioned that Greflinger, a native of a place near Regensburg, lived as notary in Hamburg from 1647 onwards.—The king, bidden (stanza 1) to take farewell of his queen, heirs, and crown, does so (stanzas 2-9) and dies fearlessly, a martyr and good Christian praying for his people, who are his accusors and his judges at the same time. A few stanzas may serve as an illustration :—

1

Auff | König Carol zu dem Sterben |
Dein Sarck vnd Richt Platz ist gemacht |
Gib deiner Liebsten | deinen Erben |
Vnd deiner Crone gute Nacht.
Auff | dieses trüben Tages Schein |
Wirdt deines Lebens Ende sein.

1. I know two later editions of the poem wherein, however, it is printed as the 2nd of *Zwey Klage-Lieder, | So nach König Carolus von England | kurtz nach seinem seligen Abschied gemacht seyn;* the one (quoted by Ditfurt, *Die historischen Volkslieder vom Ende des dreissigjährigen Krieges, etc.*, Heilbronn, 1877, p. 11) in Berlin Ye 7211 has no date, the other, Brit. Mus. 11522, bb. 4, has: 'Gedruckt im Jahr 1649.' Neither has any statement as to being a translation.

2

Fahrt wol | jhr Seele meiner Seelen
Fahrt wol, jhr meine Königin.
Ich wil euch meinem GOTT empfehlen
Der schütz vnd tröst euch ewren Sinn |
Dass euch das blutige Geschrey
Von mir nicht früh zum Tode sey.

3

Fahrt gut jhr meine lieben Kinder
Fahrt nun mit ewrer Mutter gut |
Fahrt wol vnd denckt nicht desto minder
An ewres lieben Vatters Blut.
Mein Todt bringt mich zur Seligkeit
Euch aber in betrübte Zeit.

. . . .

8

Damit will ich zum Tode gehen |
Wie Stephanus gegangen hat |
Vnd JEsum meinen König sehen
O wol der Göttlichen Genad
In dem ich alss ein Martyr-Sinn
Zu meinem Todt gar mütig bin.

Much the same kind of thing may be said of the poem preceding it in the two editions quoted in note 14, and also of another one, printed by Ditfurt, l.c., p. 8 :—*Caroli des Königs von Engeland klägliche Todesreden. Aufgesetzt von Gott Lieb, ehr' die Könige. Gedruckt in diesem Jahr* 1649 [Berlin, kgl. Bibl : Ye 7215];[1] only that this last one, evidently making good use of one of the prose pamphlets, perhaps the *English Memorial*, attempts to introduce into this speech, made by the king from the scaffold, the principal words and gestures attributed to him at the execution. Cf. Stanza 13 :

Ei Freund, was zitterst du,
Und kannst kaum Athem holen ?
Thu, was man dir befohlen —
Schlag unerschrocken zu !
Hier leget sich der König,
Doch gönne mir ein wenig,
Bis ich die Händ ausstreck,
Alsdann so haue keck !

1. There is another edition of it printed at the end of a Prose tract : *Manifestation der harten Proceduren und Verurtheilungen der Englischen Armée*, etc., Anno 1649.

The real interest of these productions lies, however, in the following fact: as their inferior get-up and the quotation of the tune to which they should be sung abundantly prove, they hit the taste of and appealed to the common people—*Kunstlieder* though they perhaps all are—and were possibly sung by the showmen at the fairs, and sold at the booths there. Nay, here Charles would have found himself in the dignified company of Gustavus Adolphus, Wallenstein, Tilly, and others, and was thus in a fair way to become a popular hero in Germany.

We now turn to poems of a more pretentious character, which address themselves to a higher class of society.

There is a missive of no less than forty stanzas of six lines each, composed shortly after the execution and addressed by its *authoress* to the *Commoners* in England. This is the curious title in full:—

Ein Schreiben über Meer gesand
an die Gemeine in Engeland
auss einer alten Frawen handt
die ungenandt | Gott ist bekandt.

Anno 1649.

B
D
B
B.D.B.V.B.D.B.
B
D
B

Bekenne deine bossheit und besser dich bald
Fairfax dein bossheit und gewald
Am König begangen
Wirst nun Lohn empfangen.
Wie du hast verdienet
Dan dein Unglück grünet
Zweiffel nicht daran
Du Gottloser Man.

A copy is in the Brit. Mus. 597, d. 22 (7); another, in the possession of Mr. G. H. Powell, was described by him in an article *Anti-English Germany* (1649) in *The Connoisseur*, V (1903), p. 207, as a curious evidence of German Anglophobia (!).

Whoever she was, this worthy old lady (the cruciform cipher on the title page may or may not contain a clue to her name), she was no great poetess. Her anonymity can hardly be said

to have deprived her of a place in the German Parnassus, in which a hundred years later her sister in Apollo, Anna Louise Karschin, found a modest nook. But weak as her doggerel is, one thing is certain : whilst referring the outrageous act to the wiles of Satan, her heart is moved with genuine rage against those who in obedience to his fiendish promptings have betrayed their lawful king. Alexander Leslie and Fairfax do not escape a sound scolding. A few stanzas will amply prove this, and, at the same time, the poorness of her poetical gifts.

12

. . . .
. . . .
. . . .

O Schottland | sehr leid ists mir
Dass man auch hören sol von dir
Du hebst solche Verräther.

13

O Esel Lesel sich | wie hast
Du (: wie Judas der lose gast :)
Deinen König gefüret
Zur Schlachtbanck | in der Sünden händ |
Gabst stanck für danck | dass dich Gott schänd
Mehr Danck hette ihm gebühret.

These are her words to Fairfax :—

31

. . . .
. . . .
. . . .

Von vier Winden kombt her ein rauch |
Wetter Donner | Blitz und Hagel auch
Niemand wied dich erretten.

32

Schrecklich wirds gehen | wie wiltu stehen
Wann du das Volck wirst kommen sehn |
Dess Königs Blut zu rechen |
Du Mörder | Lügner | Schelm und Dieb
Es mag dir Leidt sein | oder Lieb
Ich muss die warheit sprechen.

This is not very courteous and ladylike language, but it is, at any rate, refreshing after all the sentimental 'gush' we have been listening to.

IV

There is much less vigorous invective, but, as the title betrays, once more a good deal of sentimentality, in the *Blutige Thränen | Uber das erbärmliche Ableiben | Dess . . . Frösten vnd Herrn | H. Carels dess Ersten Königs von Gross-Britannien . . . von Tirsis dem Tamsschäffer, Gedruckt im Jahr MDCL.*

The volume comprises forty-four pages in 4°, containing a preface, then the poem in fifty-seven stanzas of eight lines each, twenty pages of explanatory notes, and finally two pages of music, i.e., the soprano and bass voices.

According to the preface, dated ' an der Tämss den 30. dess Jenners . . . im 1650. Jahre,' Tirsis has sent his verses, from a great distance as a New Year's gift ' seinen Freunden und Mitschäffern, dem Schliehe Schäffer ADONIS | Jarsuleo beygenannt | vnd dem Belt-Schäffer FIRHESTO, sonst Belga genant,' both apparently to be located at Schleswig, but otherwise, as far as I know, unknown personages.

As to *Tirsis der Tämss Schäfer* Holzmann and Bohaty, *Deutsches Pseudonym Lexicon*, identify him with *Johannes Rist*, a well-known German poet and dramatist of that time (cf. K. Goedeke und E. Goetze, *Dichtungen von Johann Rist*, Leipzig, 1885). Their conclusion could be supported by the following features : the style, which is an odd mixture of bathos and bombast, only occasionally pleasing us by a simpler tone ; an elegiac spirit brooding over the whole poem ; the addition of the music, as in the case of many of his poems, in the *Neüer Teutscher Parnass*, 1652 ; the fact that he touches upon the same tragical occurrence in a poem *Ehrenpforte | nach glücklich vollenbrachter Rahtswahl in der . . . Statt Hamburg* (N. T. Parnass, p. 55) :—

> Und Engelland dass pflegt mit Tüchern uns zu kleiden
> Dass lustig' Engelland | dass den erhitzten Muht
> Noch kaum gesättigt hat mit seines Königs Bluht
> Dass nunmehr Rache schreit . . . ;

and that among the plays he had written, he mentions *das glückselige Britanien.*

Finally, it may be urged that Rist concealed his personality in another poem *Holsteins . . . Klag- und Jammer-Lied* (1644) behind a pseudonym, never used again : *Friede Lieb von Sanfte Leben.* On the other hand we had, of course, to assume that the allusions in the preface to the writing of the poem on the

banks of the 'Themse' (London ?) are an intentional fiction, and the two 'Mitschäffer' perhaps as well. And in the last stanza of the poem the line *Als ein trewer Diener sol* would then have to be considered in the same light. Cf. (st. 57)

Ewig wil ich dich betrawren
Als ein trewer Diener sol |
Schlaffe sanft in deinen Mawren
König Carel ruhe wol.

The opening stanza indicates the theme :—

1

Schüttet Blut vnd Thränen auss
Meine hochbetrübte Sinnen |
Hebet euch doch schnell von hinnen
In ein Traur- und Jammerhauss |
Rüstet euch jetzt zu beklagen
Eines grossen Helden Noth |
Wollet jhr | warumb | mich fragen ?
König Carel der ist tod !

After a short account of his descent *Tirsis* turns to the the king himself and decks him with all virtues in accordance with the superlative fashion of poetry in his time. Charles 'der Sein Völcklein wie die Schaff Auf begrünte Weiden führte,' is 'die Lust der Welt.' The chief reason for his fall he sees in his subjects' unjust desire for a democratic government (cf. note 1, p. 185) where 'Jederman solt Herrscher sein.' He then surveys the political developments down to the moment of the king's execution.

51

König Carel legt sein Haupt
Auff den Block | streckt auss die Hände |
Wündschet sich ein seeligs Ende |
Drauff wird Ihm hinweg geraubt
Cron | vnd Scepter | Leib vnd Leben |
Ach ! man fasset schon das Beil
Ihm den letzten Schlag zu geben |
Da ! der König hat sein Theil.[1]

1. This line is a splendid instance of bathos.

As a consequence of the horrible deed :—

54

Londen du berühmte Statt |
Lass in schwartzes Tuch dich kleiden |
Lass die Wollust auss dir scheiden |
Sey jetzt aller Frewden satt |
Vnd du Tämse lauff zu rücke |
Lauff hinfort wie Blut so roht |
Stürm an deiner starcken Brücke |
Denn dein edler Fürst ist tod.

Die Grausame Gestaldt | Des Englischen Vater-Mords | abgebildet durch Bastian Petersen 1649[1] is the promising title of a poem in rhymed Alexandrines, but it is in vain to search for a record of its author in any history of German Literature.

The first few verses introduce us to the unhappy fate hovering over the house of the Stuart :—

Wie Wind und Wellen Heer | wie Strahl und Donner-Knallen |
Fels-Spitzen | hohe Bäum zum meisten schier anfallen |
So neidet auch das Gluck den Hohen Fürsten Stand |
Das keines jemahls mehr als STUARDS Hauss empfand |
Dan das Verhengniss hatt Derselben Edlen Stammen
Fast grausamlich verfolgt | durch Stahl | durch Gifft und Flammen.

Thus, beginning far back, the untimely end of so many heads of this house is alluded to ; after that *Petersen* turns to the reign of Charles, dwelling on the calamities in war and politics which were laid upon the king's head and led to his imprisonment and trial. He shows himself peculiarly well informed as to some details :—

In Holland ward Versetzt der königliche Schmuck
Die Wechsle gingen meist von diesem Geld zuruk.
Was Denemark geleisst | ORANIEN beygeschossen |
Was Freund und Freundes Freund | wass alle Haussgenossen
Bey diesem Werk gethan | all Krebesgängig gieng . . .
Ess wolt auch der Befehl | zu Array[2] aussgegangen |
Noch die Dammaschne Fahn fast keine Folg erlangen.

1. Four leaves in 4°. Copy in the Brit. Mus. 11517, d. 26.

2. Apparently a misunderstanding arising out of the 'Commission of Array.' Cf. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, I, 111 and 148.

The sentence of death moves him to the following verses :—

Schaut ! wie Gewalt und List sich schwinget in den Thron
Wie Ehre | Lieb und Treu nun an die Seit gesetzet |
Die Höchste Majestät so schändlich grob verletzet |
Zog MINOS[1] allererst Viel ungereimtes an |
Dass diese schnöde That doch nicht beschönen kan
Der Schluss | dass war der Todt | den solt der König leiden |
Sein Häubet werden must vom Leibe abgescheiden
Durch eines Buttels Hand | Ach Gallen bittres Word !
Wor hat man mehr gehört ein solchen Vater Mord ?
. . . . . .
Auf | Auf | erstarrte Hand ! die Feder lass nicht sinken |
Der König | leider | muss den herben Kelch ausstrinken.

Having described the execution in an equally prosaic way, he concludes with a lengthy admonition to England (now 'böser Engel-Land') to atone for her crime by calling back to the throne Charles' son and lawful heir; otherwise God's punishment, the signs of which are already at hand, shall descend on the people and the Land.

Ein ander Feder her ! des Mavors spitzes Schwert |
Weil diese schnöde That mit Blute schreibens werth |
So spricht Europen Mund : darauss du abzunehmen |
Obs nicht schier hohe zeit dich eilens zu bequemen
Auff dass mit Feuer und Schwert an dir nicht werd erfullt |
Wass durch den Vater-Mord du duppelt hast verschuldt.

We see the verses are bad, mostly very bad, but there is honest purpose behind the sentiments, as there was behind those written by Montrose when he had received the bitter tidings of the king's execution. (Cf. S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth*, etc., I, 20, etc.).

V

All the poems we have considered hitherto were either put into the mouth of the king or sent forth as their authors' own thoughts of the event and of what led to it.[2]

But there is also one written in the form of a dialogue, and to it, as among the prose pamphlets to the *Gespräch*, etc., we

1. John Bradshaw ?
2. Such *Klagereden* (at the same time *Lobreden*) on the demise of kings and princes were very common at the time; they must, of course, not be confused with the innumerable *Leichen-Gedichte* made to order.

are inclined to award the prize, both on account of the novelty of the idea and of its rhythmical form, even if the poet was here only following a Latin model.[1]

The *dramatis personae* are the king and Cromwell speaking in alternate triplets. But to the king's most noble personality is given the dignified and stately measure of alexandrines, whilst the representative of democracy couches his harangues in lines of this kind : ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ || ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – (⏑), the verse to be found in Tusser's *Hundreth good Pointes of Husbandrie*, the Spanish *Arte mayor*, so aptly described in Professor W. P. Ker's paper *Analogies between English and Spanish Verse* (*Arte Mayor*), Philological Society, 1899.

The German Dialogue was printed by F. W. Ditfurth, l.c., p. 14-16, from an old MS. book of songs (no indication as to place or possessor is given) ; in a note he mentions a broadside (B), four leaves, without place or date, preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin : Ye 7171 ; another, presumably later edition of it, printed *im Jahr* 1663, is in the British Museum (L) : 11517, aa. 13. They have the title :—*Königlicher Discurss vnnd Gespräch | zwischen Ihr Kön. Mayest |* Carol Stuart *| Vnd Herrn Protectoren* Cromwel *in Engel-Land sampt einem trawrigen Lied | vber den Seligen vnd Tödtlichen Hinscheid Gustavi Adolphi | Konigs in Schweden sel. Andenckens.* Ditfurth adds that B is four triplets (7, 8, 15, 16) short ; the same holds good of L, and from this it appears likely that B (which I have not seen) shares some other corruptions with L. The popularity of this poem is assured by a fourth copy (H) with the full text, printed as late as 1681 in Johann Hoefel's *Historisches Gesang-Buch*, Schleusingen bey Sebastian Göbel 1681. 3. Theil p. 524.

The piece seems of sufficient merit and interest to warrant reprinting here, and may form a fitting conclusion to this by no means exhaustive contribution to the influence of *Puritan politics* on the Literature of Germany, where events were, apparently, followed with some attention and interest, and where the fullest sympathy is shown for the Royalist cause.

1. Ditfurth, l.c., p. 16, quotes the beginning of a Latin poem, *De Manlio*, which the writer of his MS. copy of the dialogue had added as going to the same melody :—

Eheu clementiae, ah parce flosculo !
Heu, heu durities, ah parce Manlio !
Est victor innocens, mortisque immerens.

Ad mortem, ad mortem ad osciae sortem
Quid Lachesis haeres ? Quid carnifex horres ?
Fac, guttura seca, et puerum neca !

Cf. with the 'Ad mortem, ad mortem,' the beginning of verse 16 : 'Zum Tod, zum Tod.'

With regard to this last point, we might, indeed, find it very hard to bring together anything like the same number of writings in favour of the Commonwealth. The influence did not stop with the death of Charles I. His son's adventurous flight after the battle of Worcester, for instance, has also fired the imagination of G. Greflinger [Celadon], but this is beyond the scope of the present paper.

König Karl und Cromwell

König Karl

[1] O Cromwell, schäme dich! Du bist mein Unterthan,
Greiff deinen König nicht mit solcher Bosheit an.
Kennst du den Himmel nicht, der solches rächen kann?

Cromwell

[2] Was Himmel, was Hölle, was König, was Knecht!
Ich führe den Degen, und gebe was recht;
Ich strafe den König und Königsgeschlecht!

König Karl

[3] Ein Böswicht, der sein Herr auf Mord und Tod gesetzt,
Hält gleich, in wessen Blut er seine Hände netzt;
Es wird kein Mensch von ihm, noch Herr noch Knecht geschätzt.

Cromwell

[4] Was schnarchet, monarchet, was schmähet ihr viel?
Ein König muss leben, wie Engeland will;
Wir setzen den König in Schranken und Ziel.

König Karl

[5] Wo ist ein Regiment, so nicht vom Himmel rührt,
Das seinen Scepter nicht durch Gottes Gnade führt,
Und nicht als Vogt von Gott in dieser Welt regiert?

Cromwell

[6] Was achten wir Englische Himmel und Schrift?
Wir haben uns selbst Gesetze gestifft,
Wir treffen den König, der solches nicht trifft.

Deviations of L: 1. 1 Ach CRomwel (throughout with — l).
2. 2 gebe das Recht; 3 Ich schlage.
3. 1 Todtschlag setzt; 2 Gilt gleich, seine Fäuste; 3 Es wird vor ihm kein Mensch | kein Herr.
4. 1 Was Schnarchen | Monarchen | Was brallet man vil; 3 dem König sein.
5. 1 ein Obrigkeit die nicht von Gott herrührt; 2 die ihren, mit Gottes; 3 Und ihr Volck als.
6. 1 noch Gschrifft; 2 selber ein Gsätze; 3 Vnd tretten den.

König Karl

[7] Ach, bei des Pöbels Macht und ungefügem Streit,
Da leiden beide : Gott, so auch die Obrigkeit ;
Es wird durch solchen Schwarm Altar und Kron zur Beut.

Cromwell

[8] Was Pöbel ! Es rufet ganz England gemein :
Justitia soll unser Vertheidigung seyn !
Wie lange soll Eng(e)land* rechteslos seyn ?

König Karl

[9] Ach, was hab ich gethan, dass ihr mich also hasst ?
Giebt euch denn meine Kron so grosse Überlast,
Oder hab mich anders Gut's so heftig angemasst ?

Cromwell

[10] Was dünket euch, Stuart, um euere Sach ?
Ihr lebt (*read:* hangt) der papistischen Finsterniss nach,
Und lebet in argem Tirannengelag.

König Karl

[11] Das ist des Teufels Art : Wann er ein Aufruhr stift,
So ist Religion das Zucker um das Gift.
Ach Gott, dass mich die Schmach der Tirannei betrifft !

Cromwell

[12] Ich schreie mit unserer Londongemein :
Man stelle die Wählung der Könige ein,
Wir wollen ein freie Respublica seyn.

König Karl

[13] Ich tret nun williglich des Todes Plage an,
Und nimm dies als ein Kreuz, von Gott geschicket an,
Und hoff ein besser Kron in dem gestirnten Plan.

* Letters in ( ) have been added here and in other places for metrical reasons.

7. 1-3 om.
8. 1-3 om.
9. 1 Was hab ich doch . . . , das ich euch so verhast | ; 2 ein solchen schweren Last ; 3 hab ich euwer Güt so mechtig angedast.
10. 2 Ihr hanget einer frömbden Religion nach (notice how L evades the direct reference to the Roman Catholic creed) ; H hänget der Päpstlichen ; 3 in arger Tyranney Gelag (company).
11. 2 d'Religion der Zucker vnd das Gifft ; 3 Ach dass mich je.
12. 1 Man rüffet in vnseren Landen gemein ; 2 Vnd stellet.
13. 1 Wolan begehrt ihr das so ists vmb mich gethan : which makes the better reading, especially with a view to the commencement of v. 15 : Ihr suchet meinen Tod ; H Hollandisiret ihr | so ists mit mir gethan ; 2 Gott gedultig an ; 3 Kron auf dem bestimbten Plan.

Cromwell

14 Im Himmelreich möget ihr König wohl seyn ;
Das Engeland herrschet ihr weiters nicht ein,
Nun schicket euch Stuart, geduldig nur drein.

König Karl

15 Ihr suchet meinen Tod. Wolan, ich bin bereit !
Was kann ein Mensch allein gegen solch Grausamkeit ?
Was hilft's auch, dass ein Lamm in's Wolfes Rachen schreit ?

Cromwell

16 Zum Tod(e), zum Tod(e) ! Was machen wir viel ?
Ein König muss leben, wie Engeland will —
Ihr hab(e)t verloren, wir haben das Spiel !

König Karl

17 Dir geht Gewalt vor Recht. Gott räche diese That,
Der Königstitul und Herz in seinen Händen hat,
Sonst wanket ihre Kron und ihre Majestat.

Cromwell

18 Da zappelt der König, hier stehet der Held,
Der seinen Verfolger zum Tod hat gestellt,
Ist sicher, und ziehet mit Freuden ins Feld.

König Karl

19 Ihr trutzet Gott und Welt als ein verwegner Hauf.
Wolan ich geh dahin, und ende meinen Lauf !
Ach Gott, nimm meine Seel in deine Hände auf !

Cromwell

20 Trutz allen, die England thun feindlich umziehen !
Wir wollen vor allen vier Theilen nicht fliehn ;
Wir haben uns wenig um Fried zu bemühen.

14. 1 Ihr mögent wol König im Himmelreich sein ; 2 In Engellant tringet euch weiters nicht ein [attempt to get over the difficulty of : herrschet . . . ein (= allein)] ; H herrschet ihr feiner nicht fein ; 3 Drumb . . . gedultig darein.

15. 1-3 and 16. 1-3 om. ; H 15. 2 allein bey eurer 16. 1 was warten ; 2 ihr müsset nun fahren wie.

17. 1 Hie geht (= H) ; 2 Es räche dise That wer Königs Titul hat—a remarkable change as it calls for revenge upon the foreign potentates.

18. 1-3 follow behind 19. 1 quite corrupt : Hie stehet der König geziehreter Helt ; 2 Er hat seine Feinde mit Lusten gefelt ; H hin in den Himmel nauf. 3 Ist hertzhafft vnd.

19. 1 Gott die Welt ; 3 Ach Herr . . . Seel ins Himmels Saal hinauff. H zu todte gefällt.

20. 1-3 follow after 17. 1 . . . Engelland feindlich beziehen ; H uns wenig für Feinden zu mühn ; 3 uns Feindes nicht mehr zu bemühen (= H).

Kõnig Karl

21 Fahr wohl, mein werthe Kron ! Leb wohl, mein Ehgemahl !
Ir meine Kinder all, ihr meine süsse Zahl !
Ich küss euch durch die Lieb noch so viel hundertmal.

Cromwell

22 Hier folget der König des Dieners Gebot ;
Sein Sterben — mein Leben, mein Leben — sein Tod.
Nun Stuart enthauptet, hat Cromwell nicht Noth !

ROBERT PRIEBSCH

LONDON

21. 1 Leb vol mein Volck vñ du mein liebes Ehegemahl ; H Fahr hin fahr wol mein Volck fahr wol m. E ; 2 . . . meine liebe Kind du meine ; H fahr wol die süsse ; 3 . . . die Lufft (= H) ja mehr dann tausent mahl.

22. 2 sein Leben mein Tod ; 3 Wann Stuart enthalset (= H).

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I

Much is said and much is written in these days about 'social science', but there has not, so far as I know, been any accurate and self-evident description of the elements which are essential to any and every society. It will appear however, upon reflection, that such an analysis is indispensable to a scientific view of law and politics and of every other form of social science. The following essay is therefore offered as a contribution to the subject.

Every schoolboy knows that the word Society is derived from the Latin *societas*, meaning an alliance or partnership, and it is interesting in passing to observe the affinity of the words *societas* and *sequor*, for the earliest form of social organisation is doubtless that which springs from the following of a recognised leader.

In the common usage of to-day, people speak of Fashionable Society, the Society of Friends, The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and so forth, the word Society being applied to any number of people who are combined for any purpose whatsoever; the magnitude of the combination varying from the comity of nations to a village debating society, and the precision with which its object and constitution are determined varying from the vague understandings of a coterie to the specific definitions of a limited liability company.

It is therefore strictly in accordance with ordinary practice to define a *Society* as a number of people who are agreed upon some common purpose and upon some means to carry it out.

The agreement, it should be noted, may be either verbal or real, a verbal agreement being one which is formulated in words, and a real agreement being one which is formulated in conduct. Thus a contract or treaty is formulated in words, but the agreement by which language acquires meaning is an agreement of usage. English people call a spade a spade, not by reason of any treaty to that effect, but by custom and conduct, and the agreement by which they do so is not the less certain and definite on that account.

The agreement which is essential to a society relates to the purpose to be achieved and the means of achieving it, and although the purpose may be vague the action must be definite.

If an individual desires to accomplish any purpose, he can only do so by forming a series of mean (i.e. 'mesne' or mediate) purposes, ever increasing in number and specialisation until the process is lost to consciousness in the infinitely rapid series of mental and physical adjustments by which the movements of his body are controlled. When any purpose is of such magnitude that the co-operation of many persons is necessary, it is clear that the achievement is impossible without some means for formulating mean purposes that are capable of accomplishment by individuals, and for allocating such purposes to individuals who are able and willing to carry them out.

This implies the definition of (1) an act; (2) a person to do the act, hereinafter called, for want of a better word, an agent, not, however, necessarily implying thereby the idea of agency as commonly understood, but meaning neither more nor less than a person who may do an act; and (3) an inducement to act.

1. *An act* is an infinitely vast number of activities directed to the accomplishment of some purpose. To take up a pen involves a number of adjustments so rapid and numerous as to pass comprehension, and yet we speak of writing a book as a single act, and even describe the prolonged and co-ordinated activities of many thousands of men as a naval action. Indeed it is not uncommon to read in an obituary notice that someone lived a useful life, thus treating the activities of a lifetime from the cradle to the grave as a single act.

It is clearly inconsistent with the nature of human life that there should be any limited number of acts, but the verbs of a language indicate the kinds of activities which, in one context or another, are conveniently grouped as a single act, and it is the business of lawyers to define with precision the various acts to which legal consequences are attached; as for instance, to buy or to assault, to convey or to steal, and so forth.

Inasmuch as an act is a group of activities directed to a purpose, neither lawyers nor theologians treat undirected activities as actions; but a much more difficult question arises when we are concerned with activities which are directed to a purpose under an impulse which is incapable of control by the person who experiences it. This is a problem upon which Dr. Mercier has thrown much light; but whatever views may be held as regards responsibility there can be no question that activities so directed are to be considered as acts, and, in what follows, activities which are directed to the withstanding of an impulse, that is to say acts of inhibition, will be similarly treated. This is in

accordance with modern psychology, and avoids the necessity for constantly repeating the cumbersome phrase 'do or abstain from doing' which so frequently occurs in the discussion of general legal problems.

2. As regards the *agent* little need be said. Any human being who can direct activities to an end may be an agent; though he will be an incompetent agent unless he is, by his physical and mental equipment, capable of successfully accomplishing the act which it is his business to perform.

3. The *inducement* for an agent to act lies in his expectation as to the consequences of his act, and this generally is an expectation as to what other people will do. The action which he thus expects on the part of others implies, like any other action, for its realisation, at least one agent and an inducement; and, when co-ordinated action is in question, the whole social organisation which is immediately to be discussed will also be necessary. It will be seen that the question of inducement is not easy, for there must be an inducement for the sanctioning or inducing action, and that inducement may imply a more remote inducing action, and so forth. It will be well therefore to meet this difficulty at once by considering the relation of intention and motive in regard to an act. An act was defined as a series of activities directed to the accomplishment of a purpose; that purpose is the intention of the act, and the purpose of that purpose is the motive. The words motive and intention are therefore relative to the particular act which is under consideration. Thus, if lifting my pen is the act under consideration, the purpose or will to make such movements as are necessary to lift the pen is the intention of the act; the motive may be to write a book with it, or to lend it to someone who wants it, or to throw it away, or any other purpose. If writing a book is the act under consideration, then the purpose or will to do such things as are necessary to that end, including the lifting of a pen, is the intention of the act; and the motive may be to gain money or fame or to advance some public cause or what not. The terms motive and intention are therefore relative to that which is being regarded as an act; the purpose, which is the intention of writing a book, may be the motive for lifting a pen. The distinction is one which lies at the root of law; thus, obtaining money by false pretences is a crime if the accused person intended to obtain money by false pretences; his motive for doing so is immaterial to his conviction.

It may be observed in passing that just as the execution of

mean purposes ultimately becomes a process of such fine adjustments that the mind cannot follow it, so the ultimate motives of conduct are lost to comprehension at the point at which the intellect is unable to answer the question 'What good is it?' The position therefore which commands a vista extending to infinity both on the right hand and on the left seems to be one which is good for purposes of observation, especially as we can see clearly the boundaries beyond which the investigation upon which we are engaged need not lead us. Thus, on the one hand, if an act is assigned to an agent who is able and willing to perform it, it is unnecessary to follow the minutiae of the processes by which he does so, and, on the other hand, there are certain objects of human desire which may be accepted as final and ultimate facts for which no reason need be assigned. If then we ask what is the ultimate inducement for action, it will be found in the fundamental desires which may be taken for granted; and the inducement to that action which ultimately controls social action will be found in the desire to effect the purposes for which the controlling society exists.

II

Having now come to the conclusion that social action can only be accomplished by the assignment of acts to agents who are able and willing to carry them out, and having considered the nature of an act, and an agent, and an inducement; it is next necessary to consider the process by which acts and agents and inducements are defined, remarking that the action which may have been indicated as an inducement will have to be promoted by the same kind of process as the action which it is designed to induce.

The designation of an act, an agent, and an inducement may conveniently be called an order. An order may be either special or general.

A special order is one which applies to a special occasion and may be called simply an *order*. A general or standing order is one which applies to any and every occasion answering to a defined type, and will here be called a *law*. This use of the word law extends to every kind of society a term which is generally used either in reference to a State, or in reference to altogether different subjects; for, inasmuch as law effects a certain sequence of events, it is applied by analogy to the sequence of events observed in physical nature, which are

called the laws of Nature, and to the sequence of events, believed in by the faithful, which are called the laws of God.

It is indeed important to observe the manner in which a definite sequence of events is effected by a law in the sense in which it is here used, that is to say, as an order applicable to every occasion of a defined type. Such an order in fact operates in two ways. It tends to promote or inhibit action of the type contemplated by the law, according as the inducement offered by the law would be pleasant or painful to the person whose action is thus controlled; and, secondly, whenever an occasion of the type contemplated by the law occurs, it determines the nature of the action which follows. It is, moreover, clear that, before such action can be taken, it must be ascertained whether an occasion of the contemplated type has actually occurred. The process of so ascertaining whether a special occasion corresponding to the type contemplated by the law has or has not occurred is called judicial process and ends in a *judgment*. Directly judgment has been pronounced it operates, in conjunction with the law, as a special order which, if formulated, will be formulated as of course.

We have thus defined and determined the nature of a law, a judgment, and an order, and have shown that an order may either be made specially at discretion on occasion as it arises; or may be in general terms, that is to say, a law, and become special when a judgment has declared that some special event, corresponding with that contemplated by the law, has occurred.

The functions of making laws, judgments, and orders are here called the *legislative*, *judicial*, and *executive functions* respectively, and are collectively spoken of as the *functions of government*. But to avoid confusion it should be at once pointed out that what are known in this country as 'the Legislature,' 'the Judicature,' and 'the Executive,' though respectively supreme in their respective functions, are none of them confined to the exercise of any one of these. Thus if Parliament passes an Appropriation Act it is exercising an executive function, if it passes a personal Irish Divorce Act it is substantially exercising a judicial function. So, too, a judge in making 'judge-made' law is exercising the legislative function, and, in making an order, the executive. And, again, the Executive in making regulations are exercising legislative functions, and the comparative informality of their judicial process does not alter the fact that they exercise judicial functions on an enormous scale.

It will also have been observed that although the terminology is derived from functions in the State the functions themselves are found operating in every Society large or small. Very similar functions also control individual conduct, for every individual acts partly by rule or habit and partly at discretion specially exercised on occasion as it arises.

III

Let us now consider the operation of these functions in some simple form of Society; and in the first place it will be best to choose one which has no ulterior object and is independent of outside inducements for its efficiency and government. In a complex and highly civilised country it is not easy to hit on just what is wanted as an illustration, but a Debating Society will perhaps answer the purpose. Here the object of the Society is the interchange of opinions, and it will be assumed that the achievement of that object will be sufficient inducement to the members to perform their allotted functions. These will be, ultimately, the attendance of the members at a certain time and place and the utterance of successive speeches bearing on a certain subject; and, mediately, any governmental functions necessary thereto, that is to say, the appointment and notification of a time and place of meeting, the selection of the subject of debate and the ordering of speeches. These governmental functions may be effected by rules, i.e., laws, or by orders, or partly by laws and partly by orders; and the orders and laws, and adjudications under the laws, may be made by the whole body of members, or by one or more of their number to whom executive, legislative, or judicial functions have been assigned; and these functions may be defined, and appointments thereto made, either by law or by order or by a combination of both.

Laws and orders by which the governing, that is to say, the executive, legislative, and judicial functions, are assigned, may be called the constitutional laws and orders, or the constitution, of the Society; and laws and orders made by the exercise of such assigned functions or directly by the society may be called the laws and orders of the Society.

The laws and orders of the Society may perhaps best be considered first.

Thus the time and place of a meeting may be determined by order, if a time and place are specially arranged for each

meeting ; or by law, if the meetings are regular, as for instance such a place and time on the first Mondays during the winter months ; a simple act of judgment being necessary to determine which special dates correspond with the dates defined by the law ; or, if there were doubt as to which months were winter months, a more formal act of judgment might be necessary. Or again law and order might be combined, as for instance, if the meetings are arranged for a fixed place but for a time to be specially determined for each occasion.

Similarly, the subjects for debate may be fixed by order, as for instance, if special subjects are allocated to special dates ; or by law, as for instance, if the subject should always be the most important question before Parliament at the moment, in which case an act of judgment would be necessary to determine what that question on each occasion might be.

And again, in the ordering of speeches, it would be possible that each member in alphabetical order should speak for ten minutes, or on the other hand the order and time of speaking might be specially determined on occasion : or law and order might be combined, if the length of speeches were fixed and the sequence of speeches specially determined.

Lastly, as regards the speeches themselves, it would be obviously impossible to determine specially by order what each speaker should say, but there must be a law that each speaker shall speak to the point, and nice judgments may be necessary to determine when that the law is broken.

The illustration just given is exhibited in a manner which is in some aspects grotesque, as it is intended not only to exemplify the nature, but also to indicate the practical range of the executive, or ordering, as opposed to the legislative function. Thus the time and place of meeting would probably be fixed by law and the order of debate by order ; the reason being that a determination by law effects an economy of effort, and is to be preferred when the material circumstances provided for by the law can be anticipated with sufficient precision to ensure that the action determined by law will be appropriate ; but, when the material circumstances cannot be sufficiently anticipated, it is then necessary to make an order on occasion as it arises, or to make a law in very wide terms to be applied by a careful act of judgment on occasion.

To pass now to the Constitutional laws and orders of the Society. The various laws and orders and judgments which have been shown to be necessary for carrying out the purposes

of the Society may be made by the whole body of members, or by persons to whom the legislative, judicial, or executive functions have been assigned by the law or order of the Society. The simplest forms of constitution are those in which either the whole legislative, judicial, and executive functions are kept in the hands of the members as a whole—the government of a county by the Anglo-Saxon County Court was rather of that type—, or those in which the whole legislative, judicial, and executive functions are entrusted by order without limitation to a single dictator. But between these extremes there are infinite variations possible, where the functions are distributed and limited.

Thus, in the Debating Society which we have been considering, it is likely enough that the rules or laws would be made by the whole body of members; but a committee might be appointed to whom certain executive functions, e.g., the arrangements for the programme of the season, might be entrusted, and there would almost inevitably be a chairman with power to order the speeches and to adjudicate on points of order. And the definition of the various governmental functions thus assigned and of the persons appointed to exercise them may be defined either by law or order. Thus, the powers of the committee and chairman might be fixed by the rules and the appointments made by order, though it would be possible for appointments to be made by law, as for instance by a certain law of rotation; and the Society might have no rules, each question of government being determined by special order on occasion as it arose.

IV

It is clearly impossible within the scope of this article to discuss the intricacies involved in more elaborate forms of social structure, but one further illustration may be roughly sketched.

Consider, for instance, the case of a railway or manufacturing company incorporated under the Companies Acts. The fact that such a Company or Society is so incorporated makes it at once apparent that it is not strictly autonomous, but dependent for its very existence upon the laws of that greater and more complicated Society which is known as the State. A moment's reflection makes it clear that it is similarly dependent, in the last resort, for the inducements which it offers to its agents to act, and indeed for nearly all its essential conditions.

But although the conditions, by which and in which a limited Company exists and works, are determined by the State, the company has a Social life of its own and makes laws and orders of its own, by which it directs the action of its agents, availing itself of the State laws, which are beyond its control, in much the same way as an engineer avails himself of the 'laws of nature.' The State has itself learned much from the manner in which action can be so directed.

Let us then imagine the case of a company formed to construct and work a railway. A novel might be written on the various and mixed motives which underlie the promotion of the company. The Memorandum of Association, however, in which the objects of the company are stated, does not even vaguely refer to money-making, but it sets out in elaborate and most comprehensive terms the purposes or means by which that end is to be attained, and these are known as the objects of the company. It is obvious that these purposes will have to be specialised and further specialised a hundred times before the work of the hands who actually construct the railway and maintain the service is detailed for execution, and each individual given an action to be performed and an inducement for performing it. The matter of inducement is indeed comparatively simple, for the machinery of the State, by securing the possession of property and especially 'money,' and by securing the enforce-ability of contracts, makes it possible for anybody who has money and contractual capacity to induce almost anyone to do almost anything. The matter of governing and directing action is, however, in the case under consideration by no means so easy, and involves an elaborate constitution, and a hierarchy of officers for the performance of the necessary governing functions.

And here it is important to point out that the persons who co-operate in constructing and working the railway fall into two main divisions, united through the board of directors; namely, on the one hand, the proprietors who are induced by the expectation of dividends to supply the money and who appoint the directors; and, on the other hand, those who are induced by the expectation of payments to supply or serve the company in accordance with the orders of the directors. It will be noticed that the interest of the shareholders is an interest in the undertaking as a whole, and their agreement relates to the whole object of the Society, of which they may therefore appropriately be called members. In pursuance of this agree-

ment they might submit their services to direction in order to carry out the purpose, and in that case they would be servants also. But although it may happen that a shareholder is also a servant of a company the two relationships are quite distinct, the scheme being that the shareholder supplies not service but money. And because the payment of money is an event of which the quality and effect can be regulated and measured in general terms, it is not surprising that the relations of the shareholders are almost wholly determined by law, that is to say, by the Articles of Association of the Company taken in conjunction with the general Company Law. This law of the Company determines the manner of making the only orders necessarily to be made by the shareholders, namely, the appointment of Directors (and auditors) and the order for distributing profits. But when we turn to the actual carrying on of the business it is altogether otherwise; for although the directors, or others acting with their authority, may to some extent control the action of the servants or others by regulation, that is to say, by law, the great bulk of the direction will have to be done by special order.

It is not necessary here to consider the question of Sovereignty within the Society; but if by sovereignty is meant the exercise of governing functions in their most concentrated form, it appears that sovereignty is a matter of occasion. Thus when the shareholders appoint Directors, it is clear that they exercise sovereign functions in so appointing them, and equally clear that the Directors will be exercising sovereign functions in ordering the business of the company when so appointed; but if the Directors delegate part of their powers to an officer, it cannot be said that the officer exercises sovereign powers; for power is not concentrated in his hands, but only delegated to him in order that he may perform a part of the duty which, as a whole, had been entrusted to the Directors.

V

It would be interesting to pursue this enquiry and to apply it to the structure of the State. Indeed it may well be the case that there is, at the present time, no more urgent and important matter for investigation than the anatomy of the body politic. When a State reaches middle age it needs something better than quack remedies to keep it in health,

and the condition of political science appears to be just now nothing better than a chaos of disputable and disputed theories.

In order to accomplish that anatomy, it would be necessary to show how the whole ordering of human life within a State is effected through a countless number of social groups or societies existing for an infinite variety of purposes, some tightly bound together and some loosely united by a vague understanding, but each governed in the manner which has been above indicated.

Next, it would be necessary to show how the physical liberty of every citizen of a State, young and old, rich and poor, governing and governed, is subject to control by an organised body or society of citizens, who, by reason of their number, character, organisation and resources, are more powerful than any other body of citizens. Such a body should be called the Sovereign Body, and it would appear that although the individual citizens composing it can rarely, if ever, be exhaustively identified, yet the persons who make or declare the laws or orders by which their action is co-ordinated must necessarily be well ascertained, and the method of government by which this is effected would have to be described. And here it would be appropriate to refer to the various influences which induce the agreement by means of which the Sovereign Body exists.

Lastly, it would be necessary to show how the Sovereign power of controlling physical liberty is the direct or indirect means of ordering life throughout the whole body politic, and throughout the societies of which it is composed.

Such work would, at all events, have the sympathy of my old friend Mackay, and because this essay is an attempt, no matter how immature, to open an attack upon the problem and to look the facts in the face, it is a pleasure and an honour to offer it as tribute to him.

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A LAWYER AMONG THE PROPHETS

I

The historical association of the Law and the Prophets is so close, that perhaps a lawyer may be allowed to appear among the prophets in a book compiled in honour of a Professor of History. My contribution to these pages, therefore, will be an attempt to take a peep into the history of the future.

Many dates could be named as turning points in the history of the world. But as a rule the significance of these dates could not be discerned at the time. It required time, and the perspective which comes with time, to reveal their importance.

If, then, I say the year 1899 was one of such dates, and that it marks the opening of a new era in civilisation, I am attempting to anticipate the verdict of history. I shall not be surprised if my readers ask, Why is that year named as one of such importance ?

But in that year an event took place, which in fact amounted to the creation of a new instrument of civilisation. That event was the assembly of the first Peace Conference at The Hague. It is strange from what unlikely quarters great movements may proceed. It is to Russia, reckoned politically among the least enlightened of European States, that we owe this conference.

The part which these conferences are destined to play in transforming the condition of international relations is not yet realised by the world at large. When Tennyson indulged in his vision of a Parliament of Man, he little imagined that his vision would be realised in an important domain of human affairs, almost within his own lifetime.

The second Peace Conference was attended by the representatives of forty-five states, practically all the states of any consequence in the world, thus constituting it, in the field of its labours, a true Parliament of Man.

The work of this Parliament has hitherto comprised two main branches, (1) The promotion of the settlement of International Disputes by Arbitration (2) The codification of International Law.

Under the first head a great deal of work has been done. A permanent Tribunal of Arbitration has been established, and,

in addition to that, assent has been given in principle to the creation of a Judicial Court of Arbitration, to be composed of permanent judges, which is to supplement but not supplant the Tribunal of Arbitration.

The immediate effect of this work on the part of the Peace Conference has been to give a great stimulus to the conclusion of Treaties of Arbitration between the civilised states of the world. A vast network of such treaties, called into being since 1899, now binds these states to submit their disputes to arbitration. Moreover the scope of these treaties is being continuously enlarged. Only the other day two states bound themselves to refer their disputes to a commission of inquiry into the facts, before resorting to war.

II

It has been well said that in this direction the work of the Hague Conference has been to tend to bring about 'a state of mind, which makes war hard, and peace easy.'

Is it indeed altogether visionary to hope, that as the influence of these views spreads, and as examples of successful arbitration multiply, we may witness an unfortified frontier between European states—such as has existed since 1818 between the United States and Canada? Some effect in promoting this view may be produced by the celebration of the Centenary of the Hundredth Anniversary of Peace among English speaking peoples which is to take place this year.

In the task of codifying International Law, the work of the Peace Conference has been not less important. Already a code has been assented to which covers a great part of the laws of war on land. So far from the old maxim 'inter arma leges silent' being any longer true, the outbreak of war brings into immediate operation a great body of rules. The immediate work before these conferences is now to codify and reform the laws of war at sea. The world is nearer than people think to an immense change in this matter. I venture to predict that before long we shall see the abolition of the right of capture of private property at sea, the restriction of the law of contraband, and the abolition of commercial blockade.

With these changes in the law there will automatically come about a great reduction in the burden of naval armaments; for these armaments now exist, on their present vast scale, for the

protection of innocent commerce, which under the change of law will no longer be liable to attack.

I foresee, also, that the time is not far distant when International Law will be freed from the reproach that there exists no sanction to enforce its decrees.

An International Law, which is based on world-wide treaties, rests on a very different foundation to that which reposes its authority on the contentious forms of international usage. States which have bound themselves together by the ties of reciprocal obligation cannot afford to see their rules broken. Without resorting to force, by merely agreeing that an offender against the law of nations should be cut off from international relations and communications, sufficient pressure would be exercised to procure submission within a very short time.

But the establishment of these Hague Conferences and the erection of the splendid Palace of Peace, wherein they are in future to be housed, afford an opportunity for development, not only in the field of public international relations, but also in that of the unification of private international law.

They facilitate the formation of conventions in which important business and family relations can be governed by a common code. They will tend to make it more possible that the mercantile community in their policies of insurance, charter parties, bills of lading, bills of exchange, contracts, and all the intricate machinery of commerce, may know exactly how their rights may be determined in any part of the world, and secure as far as possible uniformity of treatment.

They will also render it impossible for a man to find, as he may do at present, that he is regarded as lawfully married in one country, but not in another, or lawfully divorced in one state, but not in the rest of the world.

All these circumstances show what a vast transformation is taking place in International Law, and how greatly the importance of its study is being increased.

III

From being the vanishing point of jurisprudence, the battle-field of varying usages, the maze of contradictory precedents, and of conflicting juristic opinions, it is becoming a definite ascertained code, made binding by universal reciprocal international treaties, and shaped by a legislative assembly composed of representatives of all the states of the world.

If this country is to take a proper part in the formation of the law, it must have an enlightened public opinion to instruct and support its government in any action, which it may take at these conferences.

For this purpose a diffusion of the knowledge of the principles of International Law is essential.

This fact is already recognised at The Hague, for only to-day I read of the proposed establishment there of an Academy of International Law.

What is this country to do in this matter, and in particular what is Liverpool and the University of Liverpool to do? I hope they will play a worthy part. I can foresee the time when the leaders of commerce in this city, recognising the importance of the part which International Law plays in the conduct of these affairs, will combine to endow a Chair of International Law and Polity in the University, to promote the study of International Law and Relations. Side by side with that Chair, I foresee created a Chair of Comparative and Constitutional Law, to promote the study of the progress in the law and constitution of other nations; and a Chair of Ancient and Historical Law to trace the Development of Law through the ages.

When that result is achieved I foresee some future Professor of this University taking his place as one of the Judges of the Hague Tribunal or Court of Judicial Arbitration, and adding to the distinction of this University abroad.

These speculations into the course of events in the future, which I regard not as visionary but as sane and practicable, will, if realised, justify the labours of Professor Mackay; who fought so hard, when the Faculty of Law in this University was formed, for the preservation within its constitution of University Ideals.

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LITERARY, ARTISTIC, SCIENTIFIC, ETC.

NOTES ON THE 'AGAMEMNON' OF AESCHYLUS

1. Lines 334, 335 ὄξος τ' ἄλειφα τ' ἐγχέας ταὐτῷ κύτει
διχοστατοῦντ' ἂν οὐ φίλως προσεννέποις.

Many scholars have felt an impropriety in this expression; and I agree with them, not so much because it involves 'the assumption that διχοστατεῖν φίλως would have a meaning,' as because the use of the participle here as a complement is unsatisfactory. To avoid this we must read φίλῳ with Auratus and give διχοστατοῦντε its full value as a participle (*quasi* διχοστατοῖεν ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἂν φ. π.)—'Were you to pour vinegar and oil into the same vessel, you would see them quarrelling and call them no good friends.'

2. Lines 475, 476 βάλλεται γὰρ ὅσσοις
Διόθεν κεραυνός.

No attempt to deal with these words as they stand has met with any success, and, since conjecture must be employed, it will be as well to do the thing thoroughly and make Greek as well as good sense. Emendations which assume that ὅσσοις alone (or γὰρ ὅσσοις) is corrupt and substitute another dative of the object aimed at are virtually inserting a dative of this very questionable sort by mere conjecture. On the other hand Professor Tucker's proposal to read κάρανα for κεραυνός is unsatisfactory because (1) the instrumental with βάλλεται should be used of the missile, not of the organ which emits it, (2) there is no evidence to show that Aeschylus could have conceived the lightning as proceeding from the eyes of Zeus, and (3) κάρανα requires definition. These objections would be met by combining with Professor Tucker's κάρανα a part of Burges' suggestion, i.e., Ὄσσης for ὅσσοις —'For 'tis the peaks of Ossa that are smitten of Zeus.' As a possible alternative we might read βάλλεται περισσὸς (or περισσὰ) Διόθεν κεραυνοῖς (περισσοῖς was suggested by Fachse and κεραυνοῖς by Burges): and this seems to me more in the manner of Aeschylus.

3. Line 544 *χαίρω. τεθνᾶναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ θεοῖς,*
and 555 *ὡς νῦν, τὸ σὸν δὴ, καὶ θανεῖν πολλὴ χάρις.*

It is almost indisputable that the Elder is borrowing in 555 the sentiment expressed or implied by the Herald in 544. Unluckily the corrupt state of 544 gives little light upon the nature of the sentiment, and it will be best to begin by considering 555 on its own merits. The situation is that the chorus, after a long period of anxiety and of longing for the return of Agamemnon and his army, have just been relieved by the news of their safe arrival. And hereupon, it seems they are made to say 'We have been under such a reign of terror that death now would be a great boon?' Is this a natural sentiment under the circumstances? More than that, is it even possible that both the Elder and the Herald should actively wish for death at the moment when their troubles seem to be over? Headlam quotes several passages from ancient literature in which a person expresses a wish that he or she may die upon the fulfilment of a certain desire; but in every case the wish is expressed *before* the fulfilment comes to pass. It partakes of the nature of a vow made in support of a prayer, and is indeed an offer to purchase the desired object with one's life. When the goods are delivered the purchaser's anxiety to pay is sensibly diminished: if he mentions the subject at all he takes the tone of the *Nunc Dimittis*, a tone of acquiescence rather than of enthusiasm. So Aegisthus, in a similar situation, says that death would be *καλόν* (line 1610), which is true of many things that one does not actively desire. No Greek, except certain philolosphers, ever regarded death as *a great boon* except when life was not worth living.

Now there seems to be no way of getting rid of the words *πολλὴ χάρις* without extreme violence; but the Elder may have applied them to a time when life really seemed not worth living, if his words were not *ὡς νῦν* but *ὥστ' ἦν*—'The reign of terror was so dreadful that death was' (i.e., was to my thinking, where we should say 'would have been') 'a great boon.' If so the Herald must have expressed or implied a similar sentiment regarding the time of his sufferings during the siege of Troy. Here of course the ground is exceedingly shaky, but I venture to think it possible that what he said was *χαίρω· τὸ τεθνάναι δ' οὐκέτ' ἄντομαι* (possibly *ἀντιῶ*) *θεούς* 'I have no more need to pray for death,' which implies clearly enough that he *had* so prayed.

4. Lines 1191, 1192 *ἐν μέρει δ' ἀπέπτυσαν*
εὐνὰς ἀδελφοῦ τῷ πατοῦντι δυσμένεις.

Headlam's observation that the words admit of various constructions is perfectly true, but there is only one construction which seems to me to meet the requirements of sense. The Furies or Avengers, we have just been told, are ever chanting at the palace their song of the Original Sin: and in the view of Aeschylus the original sin in the house of Atreus was the murder of Thyestes' children by Atreus himself (see *Choeph.*, 1066). This, as the first shedding of kindred blood, gave the Furies their opening: with the seduction of Atreus' wife by Thyestes, which provoked the murder, they had nothing to do, being simply avengers of blood. Accordingly their attitude towards the adultery or towards Thyestes is here irrelevant, and the words must refer to something else. This can only be if *δυσμενεῖς* be made to agree with *εὐνάς* and the whole interpreted as equivalent to *τὴν δυσμένειαν τῶν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ εὐνῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατοῦντα,* in which *δυσμένειαν* would be a case of the substitution of abstract for concrete, i.e., the murderous deed in which the *δυσμένεια* is manifested. The language is hazardous, but not, I think, impossible for Aeschylus.

5. Lines 1394-1397 *εἰ δ' ἦν πρεπόντων ὥστ' ἐπισπένδειν νεκρῷ,*
τάδ' ἂν δικαίως ἦν, ὑπερδίκως μὲν οὖν·
τοσῶνδε κρατῆρ' ἐν δόμοις κακῶν ὅδε
πλήσας ἀραίων αὐτὸς ἐκπίνει μολών.

Headlam's interpretation of the first two lines is admirable: it amounts to this:—'were it possible to pour on his corpse a libation of a suitable liquor, it would in all justice be this liquor.' As they stand, the words can be taken in no other way without violence either to sense or to propriety of diction. I agree with him further in holding that *τάδε* means the *ἀραῖα κακά* of 1397. But it is difficult enough for a reader, and would surely be impossible for a listener, to arrive at this identification with the lines in their present order. To mend this transpose the two distichs; and thus another advantage will be incidentally secured in a closer connexion between *ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεύχομαι* and the words which follow it. I, at least, always felt something of a chasm after *ἐπεύχομαι.*

6. Lines 1426-1429 *μεγαλόμητις εἶ*
περίφρονα δ' ἔλακες· ὥσπερ οἶν
φονολιβεῖ τύχα φρὴν ἐπιμαίνεται
λίπος ἐπ' ὀμμάτων αἵματος εὖ πρέπει.

Here again Headlam's remarks—'The eye shows the heart' and 'the blood will come from public stoning' seem to me to hit the sense required: accordingly the stop is required after ἕλακες and ὥσπερ must look forward. But I confess I cannot square this with the traditional text or with Ahrens' emendation (πρέπειν for πρέπει) which is adopted in Headlam's edition. I would read ἂν πρέποι ('is like to be plainly visible') for εὖ πρέπει. We have in 557 a case of εὖ written in place of ἄν.

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'BRITO MALUS' ET 'BRITO EXOSUS'

I

Il n'existe pas, que je sache, d'autre version de la légende du *Brito exosus* que celle de l'*Historia Britonum*.[1] 'Enée, après la chute de Troie, arriva en Italie avec son fils Ascanius. Ayant vaincu Turnus, il reçut en mariage Lavinia, fille de Latinus et, après la mort de Latinus, obtint le règne sur les Romains et sur les Latins. *Enée fonda Albe et après prit femme.* Il engendra avec elle un fils du nom de *Silvius*. *Silvius prit femme et elle fut enceinte.* Enée, averti que sa belle-fille (" nurus ") était enceinte, manda à son fils *Ascanius* d'envoyer *son* mage pour examiner l'épouse (" uxorem ") " ut exploraret quid haberet in utero, si masculum vel feminam." Le mage examina et revint. A cause de *cette prophétie* [nous maintenons les sauts du récit], le mage fut tué par *Ascanius*, parce qu'il dit à *Ascanius* " quod masculum haberet in utero mulier et *filius mortis erit, quia occidet patrem suum et matrem suam* et *erit exosus omnibus hominibus.* sic evenit : in nativitate illius mulier mortua est et nutritus est filius et vocatum est nomen eius Brito."— Longtemps après la prophétie du mage, Brito, en jouant avec ses camarades, tua son père d'une flèche " non pas avec intention, mais par accident." Il fut expulsé d'Italie " et *a terminis illis* (ou *illius*) *fugit*,"[2] et vint aux îles de la mer Tyrénienne ; expulsé par les Grecs, " causa occisionis Turni "—qu'avait tué Enée,—il parvint chez les Gaulois et là il fonda " civitatem Turonorum quae vocatur Turnis." Et plus tard il arriva dans *cette* île-là (" istam . . . insulam ") qui reçut son nom du sien, c'est-à-dire la Bretagne ; il la remplit de ses descendants et il y habita. De ce jour-là, la Bretagne a été habitée jusqu' aujourd'hui.'

Nous trouvons dans ce conte toutes les incohérences de la légende. De qui Brito est-il exactement le fils ? D'après le récit, il est fils de Silvius. Silvius est fils d'Enée, mais pas, semble-t-il, de Lavinia. Car, il est dit que ' *Enée* fonda Albe et après prit femme.' Or, ce n'est pas Enée le fondateur d'Albe, mais Ascanius. Plusieurs manuscrits de l'*Historia* et la

1. éd. Mommsen dans *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Chron. Min.*, III, fasc. 1 and 2 : *Historia Brittonum cum additamentis Nennii* (Berl., 1894), pp. 149-153.
2. codd. ' et arminilis fuit,' dont on ne sait que faire. Gutschmied propose ' ab Italiae terminis,' Hirschfeld ' a Romanis fugit.'

version irlandaise de Nennius ont remplacé dans le texte *Aeneas* par *Ascanius*. Silvius devient alors le fils d'Ascanius. De nouveau, le récit s'embrouille par le mariage de Silvius. On ne voit pas bien pourquoi, à l'annonce d'un heureux évènement dans la famille de son fils ou petit-fils, le grand-père Enée mande à son fils Ascanius d'envoyer son mage voir si l'enfant sera un garçon ou une fille. Ce sont là des confusions et des obscurités comme il en résulte parfois d'une combinaison maladroite de deux récits différents. Mommsen ne voit pas d'autre remède que d'enlever un des personnages du récit, soit Ascanius, soit Silvius. Les premiers lecteurs ont conclu, de la fin surtout, que Silvius était un fils d'Ascanius et que dans l'histoire du mage il s'agissait d'un autre fils—Brito—du même Ascanius. Ainsi Silvius et Brito sont devenus frères.[1] Mais, l'essentiel était pour eux que Brito fût le descendant direct d'un Silvius, parce que, ainsi, s'explique *pourquoi les Bretons*—ou leurs rois—*sont appelés Silvii*.[2] Pour nous aussi ce point est le plus important. Nous y reviendrons tout à l'heure.

L'enfant, auquel le mage prédit qu' 'il sera fils de la mort parce qu'il tuera son père et sa mère et qu'il sera maudit de tous les hommes,' reçoit le nom de Brito.

Sa mère meurt en le mettant au monde. M. Zimmer a tiré avantage de ce premier malheur causé par Brito. Il a pensé que le vieux mot irlandais 'brith,' qui signifie 'naissance,' et le nom 'Brito' devaient être rapprochés. Mais, ce jeu de mots ne serait voulu que si Brito avait été ainsi nommé *parce qu'il a causé la mort de sa mère en venant au monde*, c'est-à-dire si le terme latin 'mortua . . . in nativitate' était la vraie et la seule justification du nom propre. Quelques huit siècles avant M. Zimmer, peut-être plus anciennement encore, le compilateur du Livre de Ballymote semble y avoir pensé. Il dit en effet 'Silvius, le fils d'Ascanius, avait *deux* fils, à savoir Britus exosus qui tua son père, et sa mère est morte à sa naissance ("in eius nativitate"), *c'est pourquoi le nom de* Britus exosus *lui resta*, et de lui sont nommés les Bretons selon l'Histoire romaine.'[3] Je dis que le vieil annaliste *semble* y avoir pensé. En réalité, son texte

1. Ainsi s'explique la chronologie hiéronymienne et son complément (éd. Mommsen, p. 153): Aeneas autem regnavit tribus annis apud Latinos. Ascanius regnavit annis XXXVII, post quem Silvius Aeneae filius <regnavit annis XII> [*temere interiecta* dit Mommsen] Postumus [lege: postumus] annis XXXIX, *a quo Albanorum reges Silvii appellati sunt* — cuius frater erat Britto. quando regnabat Britto in Brittannia . . . . Postumus frater eius apud Latinos regnabat.

2. Dans une généalogie du fragment de Chartres que les 'rois Romains et les Bretons' sont appelés Silvii: et ideo siluei dicti sunt reges romani et britones.

3. Voir Zimmer, *Nennius vindicatus* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 245 sv.

ne nous oblige nullement de rapporter la raison du nom (' quam ob causam ') au *seul* fait que la mère est morte en mettant l'enfant au monde, mais aussi bien cet autre fait que Britus exosus tua son père. A mon avis, l'explication du récit de l'*Historia* n'est pas refaite sur celle que reflète le Livre de Ballymote, mais elle est originale. C'est, au contraire, celle de l'*Historia* que nous retrouvons legérement modifiée chez l'annaliste irlandais.

II

Le récit de l'*Historia* nous est donné comme une fiction irlandaise. Après l'avoir copiée, un interpolateur—qui n'est autre que le disciple du prêtre Beulan — juge nécessaire de la réfuter. ' Voilà la généalogie, dit-il, de ce Britus exosus ; nous autres Bretons n'avons jamais été ramenés à lui ; parfois des Irlandais ignorant *son* origine voulaient que nous fussions soumis par lui.' Cette interpolation a été comprise un peu différemment par M. Zimmer et par M. Thurneysen.[1] Mais, les deux critiques sont d'accord pour y voir la réfutation d'une généalogie due à des Irlandais.[2] Le disciple de Beulan, en bon Breton, ne l'accepte pas, et il nous dit qu'elle avait cours chez les Irlandais.

M. Zimmer ne s'est pas arrêté autrement à élucider la question de savoir comment était née cette généalogie d'un ancêtre maudit. Le jeu de mot Brito du mot irl. ' brith,' naissance, et l'explication que cet ancêtre Brito avait causé la mort de sa mère en naissant, lui suffisait. Il est évident que l'épithète ' exosus ' a une autre portée. Brito était maudit de tous les hommes parce qu'il a tué *sa mère et son père*, selon la prophétie d'un mage. Chassé d'Italie, il erre en Grèce et en Gaule. Finalement, il aborde en Bretagne où il fait souche. Le véritable objet de la fiction, ce sont les Bretons. Mais, de même que le nom de Brito — car telle est la seule forme exacte de la généalogie[3] — est déduit de celui des Bretons, de même

1. éd. *Mo.*, p. 151 : Haec est genealogia istius Briti [bruti G] exosi nunquam ad senos [*sic*] id est Britones ducti quandoque volebant Scotti nescientes originis sui ad istum domari. Zimmer, pp. 25 and 40, lit *quamquam* pour *quandoque* et *domati*, et il explique : La *suivante* est la généalogie du Brutus exosus ramenée à lui (i.e., Noë)—ce Brutus n'a jamais été ramené à nous les siens, c'est à dire les Bretons, quoique les Irlandais ignorant son origine l'aient essayé.—Z. croit que la généalogie de l'exosus étoit précédée de celle qui ramène Brutus à Noë. — Thurneysen, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, XXVIII (1894), p. 90 : Nous autres Bretons n'avons jamais été ramenés à ce Brutus, dont je donne la généalogie, bien que les Irlandais qui ne connaissaient pas leur propre origine, voulussent être vaincus par lui.

2. Zimmer, op. cit., p. 25-6. Thurneysen, l.c., p. 90.

3. Voir éd. *Mo.*, p. 150-1, varia lectio, et Zimmer, p. 248.

la qualité d'exosus est déduite de leur histoire et de leur caractère, je dirais presque de leur réputation. En effet, les Bretons insulaires occupaient parmi les nations d'Occident une situation politique et morale qu'on a voulu expliquer en leur donnant comme ancêtre un héros de malheur.

M. Zimmer était sur la bonne piste en pensant aux distiques d'Ausone[1] :

Silvius ille Bonus qui carmina nostra lacessit,
nostra magis meruit disticha Brito Bonus.
Silvius hic bonus est. ' qui Silvius ' ? iste Britannus.
aut Brito hic non est Silvius aut malus est.
Silvius esse bonus fertur pariterque Britannus.
quis credat civem degenerasse bonum ?
Nemo bonus Brito est. si simplex Silvius esse
incipiat, simplex desinat esse bonus.
Silvius hic Bonus est, sed Brito est Silvius idem.
simplicior res est, credite : Brito malus.
Silvi Brito Bonus, quamvis *bonus, haud* bonus esse
ferris nec (se quit) iungere Brito bono.

' Certainement, dit M. Zimmer avec raison,[2] il n'est pas question chez Ausone ni de la légende troyenne, ni de Silvius, fils ou petit-fils d'Enée, ni de Silvius Postumus, ni de l'ancêtre des Bretons, et, cependant, cette épigramme a pu faire pousser à quelque magister d'une école monacale irlandaise, curieux et chercheur, le cri de " *εὕρηκα.*" A la rigueur, il pouvait y entendre que Brito était un frère ou un fils de Silvius, et même qu'il était *malus.* Si, ensuite, il se rapportait à l'Enéide et aux commentaires de Servius, la légende troyenne telle que la donne l'*Historia Britonum* était bien vite baclée, surtout si l'on ajoutait l'étymologie de Brito par le vieil irlandais " brith " pour expliquer *malus* = *exosus.*'

Il y a autre chose et plus dans les distiques d'Ausone. Je ne puis pas démontrer, à l'aide de témoignages précis ou d'inscriptions, que les Bretons aient eu une préférence spéciale pour le nom de *Silvius*, mais je considère comme très significatif ce hasard que le *méchant* Breton tancé par Ausone s'appelait justement *Silvius.*[3]

1. éd. *Schenkl*, 108-113, p. 225 (*Mon. Germ. Hist. auctt. antiq.*, V, 2).
2. op. cit., p. 250. Dans l'avant-dernier vers les MSS. ont : quamvis Cono (*ou* homo) non C. esse.
3. Zimmer cite un *Bonus* comme donateur du siège de Llandaff, dans le dernier tiers du VIIIe siècle. Op. cit., 176-7.

Tout d'abord, il ressort clairement des équations posées par le poète de Bordeaux que les Bretons avaient, de par le monde, la réputation de méchantes gens. Pour Ausone, et certainement pour ses contemporains, en Gaule qui disait *Brito*, disait *malus*. Ausone ne parle naturellement que des Bretons insulaires. Il a connu des Bretons de l'Armoricaine et il n'a pour ceux-là que des éloges.[1] Sans doute, il avait une raison personnelle pour ne pas aimer ceux d'outre-mer. Il avait été le précepteur et le favori comblé de l'empereur Gratien. Or, Gratien a été tué par Maxime 'le bandit de Bretagne.'[2] Maxime, on le sait, avait été proclamé empereur en Bretagne, et les troupes qu'il avait amenées sur le continent pour combattre l'empereur légitime, étaient 'la fleur des hommes valides de la Bretagne.'

Mais, nous savons aussi que depuis leur premier contact avec les Romains, les Bretons n'ont cessé de causer de graves ennuis à leurs maîtres. Les jugements que portent sur eux les auteurs qui en parlent depuis Jules-César[3] sont, dans l'ensemble, peu sympathiques. On jugeait mal l'esprit d'indépendance des Bretons et les moyens auxquels ils avaient recours pour se soustraire à la force. Et naturellement, on les décriait jusque dans leur vie intime.

L'église, qui succéda à l'empire, ne changea pas d'attitude à l'égard des Bretons. Tertullien pouvait déclarer que la Bretagne était sujette au Christ,[4] mais les luttes des siècles suivants lui donnent un démenti éclatant. Il était aussi difficile d'incorporer effectivement les Bretons dans l'Eglise universelle et romaine, qu'il avait été malaisé pour les Césars de faire d'eux des sujets loyaux de l'empire. A tort ou à raison, selon le point de vue auquel on se place, la prévention contre les Bretons existait, elle était universelle. Nul ne l'a résumée avec autant de force que Gildas, Breton lui-même, mais un Breton rallié à l'Eglise

1. *Commem. professorum Burdigal.* X. (Phebicius — Beleni aedituus — stirpe satus Druidum gentis Aremoricae, Burdigalae cathedram — obtinuit); IV (Attius Patera . . . doctor potentum rhetorum — Baiocassis, stirpe Druidarum satus — doctrina nulli tanta — cursusque tot fandi et rotae. memor, disertus, lucida facundia, canore, cultu praeditus, salibus modestus, felle nullo perlitus, etc., etc.)

2. *Claras Urbes* — VII — *Aquileia*: . . . sed magis illud
Eminet, extremo quod te sub tempore legit,
Solveret exacto cui sera piacula lustro,
Maximus, armigeri quondam sub nomine lixae.
Felix, quae tanti spectatrix laeta triumphi,
Punisti Ausonio Rutupinum marte latronem.

3. Cf. *Comment.*, V, 14. — Tacitus, *Ann.*, XII, 31-40; *Agric.*, 13, 14.

4. *Adv. Judaeos*, 7.

orthodoxe et romaine, dans le paragraphe IV de son fameux réquisitoire, paragraphe qu'on a intitulé ' de contumacia.'[1]

Ensuite, je crois percevoir la raison pour laquelle le Breton Bonus, contemporain d'Ausone, s'appelait *Silvius*. Dans le fameux passage de l'*Enéide* (lib. VI, 756 sv.), où la Sybille fait voir à Enée sa glorieuse lignée, le premier descendant est

Silvius, Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles,
Quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia coniunx
Educet silvis regem regumque parentem,
Unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba.

Le commencement du premier vers ' Silvius Albanum nomen ' a été considéré à part par les commentateurs et par les ' centonistes.' Ausone lui-même en donne la preuve. L'auteur du *centon nuptial*, de célébrité équivoque,[2] envoie des vers à Probus (ep. XVI) :

Apologos en misit tibi
. . . . . .
Ausonius, nomen Italum,
Praeceptor Augusti tui.

' *Ausonius nomen Italum* ' est la reproduction exacte de ' Silvius Albanum nomen.' Est-il téméraire de supposer qu'un Breton, qui trouvait à redire à la poésie d'Ausone, mais qui vivait dans la même atmosphère, ait compris, comme lui, le début du vers virgilien, mais qu'il l'ait interprété—à son propre usage, peut-être—comme se rapportant aux Albani, ses compatriotes, les hommes d'Albion ?

Et si le contemporain d'Ausone n'a pas trouvé lui-même l'application du vers virgilien, est-il téméraire, demanderons-nous de nouveau, de supposer que cette application soit sortie du cerveau de quelque commentateur irlandais de Virgile ? Nous savons avec quel soin les Irlandais ont étudié Virgile et ses exégètes.[3] Or, chez Virgile

Silvius . . . primus ad auras
Aetherias Italo commixtus sanguine surget . . .

De même, Brito est le premier Breton. ' Albanum nomen '

1. éd. Mommsen, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Chron. Min.*, Vol. II, fasc. I, p. 29 : ' illa tantum proferre conabor in medium quae temporibus imperatorum Romanorum et passa est et aliis intulit civibus et longe positis mala.' Gildas nous a conservé (IV) l'expression de la réputation ' lointaine ' *Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum*, comme disait Porphyrius, et (VI) *ut in proverbium et in derisum longe lateque efferatur quod non Brittanni sint in bello fortes nec in pace fideles.*

2. Voy. D. Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo* (Firenze, 1896), I, p. 71.

3. Zimmer, op. cit., p. 240. — Les commentaires de Servius ont été augmentés en Irlande.

du prophète Virgile fait de lui un 'Silvien.' Ainsi les deux ancêtres deviennent proches parents.

M. Zimmer a mal posé la question, en demandant comment Brito a été relié à la légende *troyenne*. Ce qui intéressait vraiment les généalogistes insulaires, c'était de ramener Brito et les Bretons aux *Romains*. Ils y arrivèrent grâce à Virgile et à 'Albanum nomen.' Voilà, je crois, où il faut chercher le point de départ de l'équation 'Brito=Silvius.' Elle avait cours déjà au 4ème siècle, du temps d'Ausone. La *Table franque* qui apparait au 6ème siècle, donne une généalogie tout autre, mais c'est celle des Bretons continentaux.[1]

III

Nous comprenons, maintenant, la qualité d'*exosus* donnée au premier ancêtre des Bretons insulaires. Elle est une déduction de la réputation et des malheurs politiques et moraux des Bretons. Ces malheurs étaient considérés comme une destinée. Il n'est pas nécessaire de voir dans la légende une intention malveillante des Irlandais contre leurs voisins, ni de supposer qu'elle ait été faite pendant la période d'antagonisme religieux entre les Irlandais soumis à Rome et les Albani intraitables. Elle remonte plus haut. Le fonds, la réputation des Bretons, me parait être continental. A un Irlandais semble revenir l'idée de concrétiser cette réputation en une légende généalogique. Elle offre un curieux mélange de paganisme et de christianisme. La naissance et la jeunesse de Brito font songer à Cyrus, ou à Oedipe, mais surtout à Enée. Le rapport entre Brito et Silvius une fois entrevu, le souvenir de l'ancêtre troyen des Romains s'imposait. Enée est un héros prédestiné, mais prédestiné à être l'ancêtre du peuple glorieux qui dominera le monde et auquel toute autre nation, y compris les Bretons, doit naturellement se soumettre. Enée est *φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν*,[2] comme Brito est 'exosus omnibus hominibus.'[3] L'un et l'autre n'abordent qu'après de nombreuses pérégrinations aux rivages où ils doivent accomplir leur destinée. Dans l'idée des auteurs de l'*Historia Britonum*, le gouvernement du monde

1. Nous arrivons ainsi, par un chemin tout différent, au même résultat que M. Zimmer, à savoir que la généalogie irlandaise du Brito exosus est plus ancienne que celle de la Table franque.

2. *Iliade*, XX, v. 156 sq.

3. Le mot 'exosus' se trouve une fois chez Virgile [*Aen.*, V, 687 (cf. XII, 517)], et quatre fois dans la Bible (trad. Hier.).

revenait de *droit* aux Romains, ' iure dominandi,' comme l'exprime Bède.[1] En vertu de ce droit, les Romains exigèrent des Bretons cens et tribut. Le refus des Bretons amena la conquête, les révoltes, et les misères.

Mais, il n'est pas douteux que des souvenirs bibliques sont mêlés aux détails de la fiction.[2] Caïn ' maledictus,' ' vagus et profugus super terram ', n'est-il pas aussi l'ancêtre d'une race qui a expié le fratricide de l'ancêtre ?

Peut-être y a-t-il dans les riches légendiers irlandais des analogies plus frappantes. Je les ignore. Aux experts de nous les montrer, maintenant que nous y avons attiré leur attention.

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1. *Hist. Eccles.*, I.
2. Toute l'allure du récit trahit un homme habitué au langage biblique.

AN OLD IRISH PRAYER FOR LONG LIFE

We know so little of the beliefs and practices of Irish paganism that the following prayer or invocation of undoubtedly pagan origin, here fully edited and translated for the first time,[1] will come as a welcome addition to our knowledge. Though published more than twenty years ago by Rudolf Thurneysen in 'Irische Texte' III, p. 53, from the only two manuscripts in which it has come down to us,[2] it has never received that attention to which its age and contents entitle it.

It is cited in an old-Irish metrical treatise, the oldest portion of which dates from the eighth century,[3] as one of four examples of the kind of composition called *cētnad*. This is a compound of *cēt*, 'first' and *nath*, n. 'rhythm' (Germ. 'Spruch'), and may be freely rendered with Thurneysen[4] as 'initiative' or 'inaugural song.' We first have *cētnad cuirmthige* 'inaugural song of an ale-house'; next *cētnad tige nūi* 'inaugural song of a new house'; then *cētnad n-imrime*, 'song on setting out on horseback'[5]; and lastly our *cētnad n-āisse* 'prophylactic song of age' or 'of long life.' While the other poems, so far as they can be understood,[6] are wholly Christian,[7] our prayer goes back to pagan times. For though it presents a curious mixture of pagan and Christian conceptions, the latter are evidently superadded. They all occur at the end of the stanzas.[8] At the same time they form, as the metrical structure shows,

1. In an essay on 'Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century' (Dublin, 1913) I have printed and translated the first and last stanzas.

2. These are the Bodleian MS. Laud 610 and the Book of Ballymote, p. 304*a*, both dating from the fifteenth century.

3. See Thurneysen, 'Zu irischen Handschriften' (Berlin, 1912), p. 86.

4. See Ir. Texte, III, p. 117.

5. For a Middle-Ir. prayer or blessing on setting out on a journey see a poem in Arch. III, p. 211, translated in *Ériu*, VI, p. 112.

6. The *cētnad tige nūi* is too short to allow any inference either way.

7. Thus the *cētnad cuirmthige* calls upon *mac Maire mac Dē*, 'the Son of Mary, the Son of God,' and contains such expressions as *atomsuide serc Dē*, 'may the love of God keep me,' or *adneot nem*, 'I look forward to Heaven'; while the *cētnad n-imrime* begins: *Donfē for Fēda*, which seems to mean 'May your Lord lead us,' unless we have here a compound *forfēda* 'overlord.' Compare the opening of Colman's hymn *Sēn Dē donfē*, *Thes. Pal.*, II, p. 299.

8. There is nothing distinctly Christian in the first stanza. But *Rī inna n-uile*, 'King of the Universe,' at the end of the second, evidently refers to the Christian God. Cf. *ardrī ūasal inna n-uile*, Anecd., I, p. 50; *co Rīg inna n-uile n-ard*, CZ., VI, 258, 1. The third stanza ends with an invocation of the Holy Spirit, to which the ninth verse of the third psalm is added with the insertion of *Christi est salus.*

an integral part of the whole composition, so that we are driven to the conclusion that an ancient pagan prayer has been remodelled by a Christian poet. Now I believe we can fix upon the very person and thereby get an approximate date for the composition.

In both MSS. the poem is introduced by the following sentence: *Nuall fer fia forsét sensum fonicairt* (*foni cart* B) *immaig næsa* (*amaigh neasa* B), which I would emend and translate as follows: *Nūall Fir fio for sēt sēnsum fom chūairt*[1] *i mmaig āesa* (or *i mmag n-āesa*) 'The cry[2] of Fer fio upon the road, may it bless me[3] on my journey[4] in (or 'into') the Plain of Age.' Here *Nūall Fir fio* is the special title of our poem.

The proper name Fer fio[5] is very rare. Indeed I know of only one other instance. In the 'Annals of Ulster' it occurs as that of an abbot of Conry in Westmeath, who died A.D. 762.[6] I do not consider it altogether incredible that an ecclesiastic should have recast an ancient and probably popular pagan prayer by adding Christian tags to it. Those familiar with early Irish Christianity know that it often exhibits a strange admixture of pagan elements, and that the early Church treated ancient popular superstitions with a very lenient hand. Nor is there anything in the language of the poem that would speak against its having been composed in the first half of the eighth century.[7] I would therefore suggest that Fer fio of Conry was the author of the revised version.

The prayer is in the main a request for a long life,[8] good fortune and lasting fame. Life is regarded as a journey in the 'Plain of Age,' a notion which is also found in the 'Colloquy of the Two Sages' (*Rev. Celt.*, XXVI, p. 24). There Ferchertne asks the youthful Nēde: '*Cid fodlaimther-su*?' 'What is it

1. *fom chūairt* is miswritten in both MSS. exactly in the same way as B miswrites the same words *fomcairt* (p. 54, l. 2). The scribes evidently thought that they had to do with a form of the verb *foceird*.

2. *nuall* denotes a wailing or imploring cry.

3. *sēnsum* might mean 'it has blessed me.' But we have here more likely a formation like *snāidsiunn*, 'may he save us,' in Colman's hymn, Thes., II, p. 300, 9; 302, 7; or *sōersunn*, ib., p. 303, 1.

4. Literally, 'round, circuit.'

5. Though both MSS. read *fer fia* it is not likely that we have to do with a compound *Fer-fia*. I have therefore altered into *Fir fio*.

6. Ferfio mac Fabri sapiens, abas Comraire Mide obiit, AU. 761.

7. The *cētnad n-imrime* is even older. As the form *fēda* preserved by one MS. for later *fīada* shows, it belongs to the seventh century.

8. In the first stanza *trī āes*, 'three life-times,' are asked for, but in the third this is increased, if I translate rightly, to 'a hundred times a hundred years.'

thou undertakest?'[1] and Nēde answers: '*i mMag n-Aesa*,' '(a journey) into the Plain of Age,' *i Slīab n-ōited*, *i Fidach*[2] *n-āise*, 'into the Mountain of Youth, into the Wood of Old Age.' Then the dangers and snares which beset the traveller on his journey are enumerated: *messe*,[3] i.e., 'phantoms' or 'spectres,' hardly correctly explained by the gloss . *i* . *banchola*, 'women's lusts'; dangerous or ill-omened animals, thieves, women-folk, and armed bands. The following divinities or supernatural beings are invoked, of whom unfortunately nothing further is known: the seven[4] daughters of the sea,[5] who in Irish myth seem to play the part of the Μοῖραι, Parcæ or Norns in spinning the thread of life for men at their birth; the deathless 'Silver-champion,' whom one is tempted to regard as the moon-god; and Senach,[6] whose name is a short form of some compound beginning with *sen-* 'old,' so that we may render 'the Ancient one.' With these pagan conceptions the Christian God and the Holy Spirit are oddly coupled.

As regards the metrical structure of the prayer, it belongs to the very oldest kind of Irish poetical composition just emerging from rhythmical prose. Indeed we can hardly discern a strict metrical form, though many of the elements—such as rhythmical cadences, a definite number of syllables in the line, alliteration, rhyme—out of which the various forms of the stricter rhythmical poetry developed, are already there as it were in embryo. The principles on which each stanza is constructed do not differ from those of the rhetorical style of the later Latin prose: parallelism and antithesis, an artificial order of words, rhythmical cadences at the end of the periods, among which dactylic rhythms early became the favourite, or homoioteleuta leading to rhyme.[7]

The whole composition falls into three sections or stanzas,

1. Or, perhaps, 'Whither doest thou venture?'
2. Stokes reads *fīadach*, 'hunting'; but the best MSS. have *fidach*. Cf. *for fidrad n-āis*, ib., § 11.
3. Cf. *meise* . *i* . *sīabra*, Corm., § 954; *meise* . i . urtroighe, ib., § 949 = . *i* . *aurdraige*, H. 3, 18, 72[c], and Egerton 1782.
4. The number seven recurs in the 'seven waves of good fortune,' in the epithet *secht-amserach*, literally 'seven-timed,' bestowed upon Senach, in the 'seven candles' (of life), and in *sechtmainech*, an adjective derived from *sechtmaine*, 'week,' a loan from Latin *septimana*. L. reads *sechtmonach*; cf. *sechtmanach*, Arm., 17[0][62].
5. Perhaps *triath* is to be taken as a personification of the sea, like Τρίτων and Sanskrit *Tritas*, to which it corresponds etymologically.
6. The name is common in all Celtic languages. It is the Gaulish *Senācus* (see Holder for examples), Welsh *Hynog*. In Irish legend it occurs as the name of a fairy king (Senach Sīaborthe), whom Cuchulinn slays at the request of another fairy, Labraid. See 'Serglige Conculaind,' §§ 13 and 36.
7. See on the whole subject of early Irish rhythmical prose my lecture on 'Learning in Ireland,' p. 13 ff.

each beginning with the word *admuiniur*, 'I invoke.'[1] In each stanza two longer lines[2] are followed by a number of shorter ones, all constructed on the principle of parallelism or antithesis,[3] with homoioteleuta.[4] Then follow two differently constructed lines, and lastly two lines containing endrhyme—*cel : sen ; uile : buiden* (a rhyme which would not have been tolerated at a later period) ; *lessa : form-sa*. Alliteration is scattered here and there throughout the poem,[5] but we do not find that strict principle of word to word alliteration which characterises certain poems of the earliest period and continues into the ninth century.[6] In printing the Irish text I have so arranged the lines as to show their parallel structure at a glance.

I. Admuiniur[7] secht n-ingena trethan[8]
dolbte[9] snāthi macc n-āesmar.
Trī bās ūaim[10] rohuccaiter !
trī āes dam dorataiter[11] !
secht tonna tacid dam dorodalter[12] !
Nīmchoillet messe[13] fom chūairt[14]
i llūrig lasriēn[15] cen lēniud !
Nī nascthar[16] mo chlū ar chel !
domthī āes[17] ! nīmthī bās corba[18] sen.

1. In Thes. II, p. 250, the editors translate *admuiniur epscop nIbar* by 'I honour bishop Ibar,' but on p. 322 *admuinemmar nōebPātraicc* by 'we invoke holy Patrick,' and on p. 349 *admunemar mo Brīgi*, 'we appeal to my Brigit.' 'Invoke' is undoubtedly the correct rendering. Cf. also *cāinbreo* (sic leg.) *atmuinemar*, Arch. III, p. 219; *cdmuindfind mac nEithnend*, LL 122[b] 49. In all these cases the sentence introduced by the verb is immediately followed by a string of optative clauses.

2. In the second stanza these rhyme (*bebae : febae*). We find the same rhyme in Fiacc's hymn, Thes. II, p. 314.

3. As e.g. in I, 3 and 4.

4. In I, we have three lines with dactylic endings ; in the second, six with monosyllabic endrhyme ; in the third, again five (or six, if we include *cētblīadnach*) with dactylic endings.

5. The alliterations are : *ūaim : ucaiter ; tonna : tacid ; lūrig : lasriēn : lēniud ; chlū : chel ; ba : beba ; findruni : feba ; dorb : dūrglass ; dōel : dīchuinn ; aurchur : amsire ; Senach : sechtamserach ; bruinnib : būais ; dūn : dīthogail ; ail : anscuichthe ; lia : lūagmar ; sēn : sechtmainech ; cētach : cētblīadnach : cēt.*

6. See on this kind of alliteration my 'Älteste irische Dichtung,' I, p. 5. I forgot to mention there that the technical term for it is *gobul*, 'fork.' See *Rev. Celt.*, XX, p. 146, 4.

7. Here and in the second stanza L has *admuinmur*. But the singular is used throughout in *ūaim, dam, mo*, etc. Cf. *admuiniur* in the first spell in the Stowe Missal, Thes. II, 250. On the other hand Ninīne's prayer (Thes. II, 322) begins with *admuinemmar*.

8. *trethain* codd. I have restored the old gen. of *triath*.

9. *dolbtais* codd. I restore the old relative form of the present tense. *dolbtais* probably arose from the spelling *dolbtai*, the *s* being due to the initial of *snāthi*.

10. *buann* L *uaim* B.

11. sic B *doroitaiter* L.

12. *doroidalter* L *dorodailiter* B.

13. *. i . na banchola* add. codd.

14. *fom* cairt B.

15. *lasren* B.

16. *nascair* L *nascar* B.

17. *dommáes* L.

18. *corbam* B.

II. Admuiniur m'argetnia[1] nad ba nad beba :
amser dam doridnastar[2] findruni feba !
Rohorthar mo richt,
rosōerthar mo recht,
romōrthar[3] mo nert,
nīb[4] ellam mo[5] lecht,
nīmthī bās for fecht,
rofīrthar mo thecht !
Nīmragba nathir[6] dīchonn[7]
nā dorb dūrglass[8] nā dōel[9] dīchuinn ![10]
Nīmmillethar[11] teol[12] nā cuire[13] ban nā cuire[13] buiden !
domthī[14] aurchur n-amsire[15] ō Rīg[16] inna[17] n-uile.

III. Admuiniur Senach sechtamserach
conaltar[18] mnā sīde for bruinnib būais.[19]
Nī bāiter[20] mo sechtchaindel !
Am dūn dīthogail,
am ail anscuichthe,[21]
am lia lūagmar,
am sēn sechtmainech.[22]
Ropo[23] chētach cētblīadnach,
cech cēt diib[24] ar ūair[25] !
Cotagaur[26] cucum[27] mo lessa :[28]
robē rath in spiurto[29] nōib[30] form-sa[31] !
Domini est salus, ter,[32] Christi est salus, ter.[33]
Super populum tuum, Domine, benedictio tua.

1. *margetnia* codd.
2. *dorindastar* L *dorinnastar* B.
3. *rommorthar* L.
4. *nirb* B.
5. *do* B.
6. *naither* L.
7. *dichuind* L.
8. *nimthi duirb durghlas* B *dichur* L.
9. *dóer* codd.
10. *dichunn* B.
11. *nimelletha* L *nimillithar* B.
12. *theoil natairdeol* B.
13. *caire* codd.
14. *dommí* L.
15. *amsere* L.
16. *ri* B.
17. *na* codd.
18. *conalltar* L.
19. *buæs* L *bues* B.
20. *batar* L *baiter* B.
21. *anscuigthe* L *annscuichthi* B.
22. *sechtmonach* L.
23. *robam* B.
24. *dib* L om. B.
25. *iarnuair* B.
26. *congair* L.
27. *chucum* L.
28. *amalesa* B.
29. *inipirta* L *inspū.* B.
30. *noím* L *nœm* B.
31. *forum* B.
32. om. L.
33. *tra* B.

Translation

I. I invoke the seven daughters of the Sea
who fashion the threads of the sons of long life :
May three deaths be taken from me !
May three periods of age[1] be granted to me !
May seven waves[2] of good fortune be dealt to me !
Phantoms shall not harm me on my journey
in flashing[3] corslet without hindrance[4] !
My fame shall not perish ![5]
Let old age come to me ! death shall not come to me
till I am old !

II. I invoke my Silver-champion who has not died, who
will not die :[6]
May a time be granted to me of the quality[7] of white
bronze !
May my double be slain ![8]
May my right be maintained ![9]
May my strength be increased !
My grave shall not be ready !
Death shall not come to me on an expedition !
May my journey be carried out ![10]

1. Or ' three life-times.'

2. *tonn*, ' wave,' is often used thus metaphorically : *co toirtea tuind mbrōin ar Brīan*, Cog., 120, 25.. *atbath ar tonn indmais* (of a king), Ir. T., III, 63.

3. *lasriēn*, if correct (B has *lasren*), seems a formation from *lassar*, ' flame,' with the suffix *-iēn*, on which see Thurneysen, Handb., § 908.

4. As to this meaning of *lēniud* cf. *lēiniud clairend . i . tairmesc fodla ocus rainde*, Corm., § 307 *is lēniud don fīrinde*, CZ, III, 451, 4. *lēnaid* (leg. *lēnid*) *lōg n-enech . i . bacaid lōgh n-enech na flatha*, O'Dav., 1162.

5. *nī nascthar* (if I emend correctly) *mo chlū ar chel* seems to mean literally ' my fame shall not be bound on death.' We have a similar but still more obscure phrase in ' Immacallaim in dā thūarad,' § 144 : *arannaisc* (*arranaisc*, *arnaisc*) *a chētgnūis cel* (*cil*) *. i . is ē cētgnūis dochūaid i mbās peccaid.*

6. The following forms of the stem *ba-* may be added to Pedersen's list in his Vgl. Gramm., § 659 : *robá*, ' he died,' RC, 23, 310, § 32 ; *coich beba*, Trip., 88, 1 ; *conbebhau*, RC, 12, 113 ; *arbeba* (*adbeba*), Immac. in dā th., § 200 ; *arbebat*, ib., 175 ; *dobebat*, ib., 181, 191 ; *iarmibebat*, ib., 242.

7. i.e., as durable as bronze.

8. This is a difficult line to understand : *roborthar mo richt* would mean literally ' may my shape be slain.' But *richt* also means ' guise, likeness ' and ' a double.' Cf., e.g., *co tarat fūasma tria Odrān hi richt Pātraic*, ' so that he gave a spear-thrust through Odrān mistaking him for Patrick,' Trip., p. 218, 6. So I have ventured to translate as above, and the meaning would be : ' if I am to be slain, may my double be slain instead of me.'

9. Literally, ' saved.'

10. Literally, ' come true, be realised.'

The headless[1] adder shall not seize me,
nor the hard-grey[2] worm, nor the headless black chafer!
Neither thief shall harm me, nor a band of women, nor a band of armed men.
Let increase[3] of time come to me from the King of the Universe!

III. I invoke Senach of the seven periods of time,
whom fairy women have reared[4] on the breasts of plenty:
May my seven candles[5] not be extinguished!
I am an indestructible stronghold,
I am an unshaken rock,
I am a precious stone,
I am the luck[6] of the week.
May I live a hundred times a hundred years,
each hundred of them apart!
I summon their boons to me.
May the grace of the Holy Spirit be upon me!
Domini est salus (three times), Christi est salus (three times).
Super populum tuum, Domine, benedictio tua.

KUNO MEYER

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1. *dī-chonn* or the i-stem *dī-chuinn*, a compound of privative *dī-* and *conn*, 'head.'
2. Or 'hard-green.'
3. *aur-chur* n., v.n. of *ar-cuiriur*, 'I add to, increase.'
4. *conaltar*, 3. pl. pret. of *con-alim*, 'I rear, foster.' Cf. *mac claime nī comail māthair*, O'Dav., 1364; part. pass. *comalta*.
5. I take *sechtchaindel* to be a compound. Cf. *tar secht sechtmuire*, and the n.pr. *Secht-fili*, BB 146°.
6. Or 'the blessing'; *sēn* = W. *swyn*, both borrowed from Lat. *signum*.

A WELSH 'SUNDAY EPISTLE'

I

The manuscript which I have here transcribed is a link with one of the most enduring and universal of mediaeval legends. The 'letter of Christ fallen from Heaven,' which inculcated the observance of the fourth commandment, had by the end of the ninth century spread over Western Christendom as far as Ireland.[1] Later it reached Denmark and Iceland.[2] The existence of several Greek versions[3] indicates its dispersion in the Eastern Church and it is found among the Oriental peoples of Ethiopia,[4] Syria and Arabia. At the close of the sixteenth century the heavenly letter had reached the Christian communities of Malabar.[5] It was denounced by the Revolutionary Government of France as 'un nouveau libelle, forgé par le fanatisme le plus grossier'; it circulated in England and Wales at least as late as 1850, and may yet flourish among the credulous.

Scattered thus throughout many lands and peoples, the letter naturally has numerous variations of contents and style. But its main characteristics are constant; it is written by Christ Himself in letters of gold or with His blood; it falls from heaven or is carried to earth by the Archangel Michael, and is discovered on the tomb of St. Peter, or at Jerusalem, or some other sacred place. Its theme is a rigid Sabbath observance, enforced by terrible threats against the disobedient, and often it concludes by asserting its authenticity with a solemn oath and menaces against the sceptical. There are diverse views as to its origin; it has even been assigned to a Coptic or Ethiopian source, but there seems little reason to doubt that it arose in the West. Professor Priebsch holds that it is the product of the darkest period of the Western Church and that it first appears towards the end of the sixth

1. The *Cáin Domnaig* (ed. O'Keefe in *Ériu*, II, 1905).
2. R. Priebsch, 'Quelle und Abfassungszeit der Sonntagsepistel in der Irischen *Cáin Domnaig*, (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, II, pp. 138 et seq.).
3. P. Delehaye, S.J., 'Note sur la légende de la lettre du Christ tombée du ciel' (*Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin*, 1899, no. 2), pp. 196-200.
4. The Ethiopian text has been translated into French—*Les Apocryphes éthiopiens* (Paris, 1893); see Delehaye, loc. cit., p. 201, n. 4.
5. Delehaye, p. 206; Priebsch, p. 138.

century[1] in Spain or Southern Gaul.[2] The earliest notice[3] of the epistle is in a letter of Licinianus bishop of Carthage in the last decade of the sixth century, who writes to reproach a fellow-bishop, Vincent, for reading to the people a pretended letter of Christ—'In principio ipsius epistolae legimus ut dies Dominicus colatur.' He urges that it is profane to believe that Christ sent this letter, and that the words of the Apostles and prophets suffice. Finally he adds, 'et si forte ipsum nomen novum te delectavit, quia ipsa epistola, sicut simulator scripsit, de caelo descendit super altare Christi in memoria sancti Petri apostoli, scito diaboli esse figmentum.'[4] It appears again at the Roman Council held at the Lateran by Pope Zacharias in the year 745. Here one Aldebert was denounced for spreading abroad a letter written by Christ, which fell at Jerusalem and, 'per manus angeli domini,' was conveyed to the Sepulchre of St. Peter at Rome. The Pope ordered the letter to be read to him, and when the reading was ended he said :—

> Pro certo, fratres charissimi, iste Aldebertus in insaniam est conversus, et omnes qui hac utuntur scelerata Epistola, more parvulorum absque memoria mentium sunt, et muliebribus sensibus insaniunt.[5]

It is again mentioned in a capitulary of Charlemagne of the year 789, and there ordered to be committed to the flames as an imposture.[6] During the later middle ages it was accepted and revered by the devout and orthodox, and the survival of many manuscripts of the eleventh and succeeding centuries testifies to its vogue. It is more than probable that the document, 'de caelo lapsam,' which Peter the Hermit carried with him during his Crusading mission, was a copy of this letter.[7]

1. One should, perhaps, notice in connection with the origin of the Sunday letter the existence, in the first four centuries of the Christian era, of apocryphal letters attributed to Christ :—
   (i) An Epistle of Christ to Peter and Paul, mentioned by St. Augustine in his *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, lib. I, cap. ix, x (*Sti. Augustini Opera*, Benedictine Ed., Vol. III (Antwerp, 1700)).
   (ii) An Epistle of Christ produced by the Manichees, and mentioned by St. Augustine in his disputation against the heretic Faustus (ibid., Vol. VIII, *Contra Faustum*, lib. XXVIII, cap. iv).
   (iii) The letter from Agbarus, King of Edessa, to Christ with Christ's answer. The text of these is given by Eusebius (v. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Scriptores Graeci*, pp. 22-4 (Colon. Allobrogum, 1612)).
   On the apocryphal writings attributed to Christ see Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pars. i, *De Scriptis Christo tributis* (Hamburg, 1703); and J. Jones, *The Canonical Authority of the New Testament* (3 vols., Oxford, 1798).
2. Priebsch, loc. cit.
3. Delehaye, p. 174.
4. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXII, col. 699; see also Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pars. i, pp. 308-9.
5. Fabricius, pars. i, p. 309, n. (q).
6. Delehaye, loc. cit., p. 186.
7. Ibid., p. 187.

II

The heavenly letter reached these islands in the ninth century. Professor Priebsch has shown that the 'letter of Jesus' in the Irish tract *Cáin Domnáig* (which was written not later than 850) and the Anglo-Saxon homily in the so-called *Wulfstan Homilies*, composed by Pehtred, a cleric of the province of York in the ninth century, have a common source in a Latin manuscript, which in its turn originated from the redaction represented by two manuscripts of the eleventh century, one now at Munich and the other in the British Museum.[1] Probably to this same source belongs the earliest Welsh version, 'Ebostol y Sul,' which is extant in two versions, one in Cotton MSS. Titus xxii (British Museum)[2] and the other in the Jesus College manuscripts of 'Llyfr y Ancr'[3] and 'Llyfr Llewelyn offeiriad.' A comparison of the text of 'Ebostol y Sul' and the Latin version of the Munich MS. shows some remarkable resemblances. There are the same threats of 'rapacious wolves and mad dogs,' tempests and destruction of crops for those who do not keep holy the Sabbath Day. The transgressors of the divine Command are to be plunged 'into the depths of afflictions . . . as I, of old, sank Sodom and Gomorrah.'[4] The Cotton MSS. Titus xxii and the Munich MS. conclude with an oath of authenticity which on comparison shows a close parallel. The Latin text which follows is the concluding paragraph of the Munich MS. :—

Ego Petrus episcopus indignus, iuro per Maiestatem Dei qui fecit caelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, per Ihesum Christum et per sanctam genetricem Mariam, per omnes angelos Dei, per omnes patriarchas, prophetas, apostolos, martyres, confessores, virgines, per reliquias omnium sanctorum atque electorum Dei, quia ista epistola non formata est manu hominis neque scripta, sed est scripta digito Dei et Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, et est transmissa de septimo caelo et de throno Dei in terram, qualiter diem sanctum dominicum observare debeatis.[5]

The 'Ebostol y Sul' concludes :—

Mi yw pedyr esgob antyoys adȳghaf myn gallu duw yr hwnn agreawd y nef ar daear ac yssyd yndunt. ac agrewd dyn ar y delw ae furyf ehvn.

1. Priebsch, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, II; see also, by the same writer, 'The Chief Sources of some Anglo-Saxon Homilies' (*Otia Merseiana*, I).
2. For text v. *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. VIII, pp. 162 et seq.
3. Printed in Jones & Rhys, *The Elucidarium* (Anecdota Oxoniensia), pp. 157-9.
4. Ibid., p. 157, cf. Munich MS. (Printed by Delehaye, p. 179) 'ego iudicabo, et tradam vos et submergam vos, sicut dimersi Sodomam et Gomorram.'
5. Delehaye, pp. 180, 181.

ac myn iessu grist mab duw buw agroget drossom ni yr hwnn adaw y varnu ar vyw ac ar veirw. ac myn y yspryt glan. ac myn ydrindawt undawt diwahanedic. ac myn y pedwar euegylywr. ac myn y pedwar proffwyt arhugeint. ac myn y deudec ebostol. ac myn y Wynuydedic ueir vam crist. ac myn Kyrff yseint nywnaeth dyn yr ebostol honn. namyn ychaffel ar allawr bedyr ybostol gwedy yhanuon o iessu grist or nef yn wir.[1]

(I am Peter, Bishop of Antioch, and I swear by the might of God who created heaven and earth and all that therein is, and who made man in his own image and form; and by Jesus Christ, Son of the living God who was crucified for us and who will come to judge the quick and the dead; and by the Holy Ghost; and by the Trinity in Unity indivisible; and by the four Evangelists; and by the twenty-four Prophets; and by the twelve Apostles; and by the Blessed Mary, mother of Christ; and by the bodies of the Saints, no man made this letter, but it was found on the altar of Peter the Apostle—having indeed been sent by Jesus Christ from Heaven.)

The next definite mention of the epistle occurs in the early thirteenth century. But I should here notice a significant episode of the twelfth century, although I hesitate to assert that it has any but an accidental connection with the 'Sunday Epistle.' In the year 1158 Abraham Ibn Ezra, a distinguished rabbi of Toledo, famous for his profound and penetrating interpretation of the Pentateuch, visited London—after extensive journeys in Africa, Egypt, Palestine and Rome. At London he wrote 'The Sabbath Epistle.' This letter states that he, Ibn Ezra, had a dream in which the Sabbath appeared to him. The apparition complained that certain of his disciples had wronged her by asserting that the Sabbath began on the morning of Saturday, and that, consequently, the evening of Friday possessed no sanctity. Ibn Ezra felt it his duty to denounce this view, 'lest Israel be thereby led into error,' and, he declared, the hand of him who upheld it by writing 'shall be withered and his eyes darkened.' The defence is couched in allegorical language, with many interpretations of Biblical verses and astronomical allusions.[2]

In the year 1201 Eustace, Abbot of Flaye, came to England; 'et predicans in ea verbum Domini de civitate in civitatem, et de loco in locum, prohibuit ne quis forum rerum venalium in diebus Dominicis exerceret.' To enforce his argument he

1. *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. VIII.

2. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, trans. Löwy (London, 1892). The text of the 'Iggereth Shabbath' was edited in *Kerem Hemed*—a Hebrew periodical published in Prague, 1833-43. For these references and for much information concerning Ibn Ezra I am indebted to Rev. S. Friedeberg.

produced a letter on the observance of the Lord's day, 'which came from heaven to Jerusalem and was found upon the altar of St. Simeon, in Golgotha, where Christ was crucified for the sins of the world.' The contents of the letter leave no doubts as to its identity. Transgressors of Sunday, which is to be observed from the ninth hour on Saturday until sunrise on Monday, are to be visited with terrible punishments; the heavens will rain on them stones, wood and hot water; their flesh will be torn by ravenous beasts, with the heads of lions, the hair of women and the tails of camels;[1] the light of the sun will be taken from their eyes, and they shall perish even as Sodom and Gomorrah perished. The account closes with miraculous visitations on many who violated the divine command; a carpenter of Beverley, who was working after the ninth hour of Saturday, was suddenly smitten with paralysis; a miller of Wakefield, who was grinding his corn, was astonished by the sight of a torrent of blood issuing from his mill,—and so forth.[2]

III

The printed versions of the Welsh and English letter—which were issued in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century—show, as one would expect, a close resemblance to the seventeenth century copy which I have here transcribed. The British Museum catalogue gives copies under the dates 1720, 1780 (London), 1810 (Newcastle), 1830 (Coventry). Welsh versions were printed in 1761,[3] 1779 (Trefriw),[4] 1797 (Machynlleth).[5] In addition a 'broadside' was printed about 1830 by Pitts, a publisher of Great St. Andrew's Street, containing the Sunday letter together with the letter of Agbarus and Christ's reply, and the letter of Lentulus to the Senate of Rome describing the appearance of Jesus. Of this document there were several reprints, and a recent copy is in the Cardiff Municipal Library.[6]

1. Cf. *Apocalyps.*, c. ix, vv. 7, 8: 'Et similitudines locustarum, similes equis paratis in praelium, et super capita earum tamquam coronae similes auro, et facies earum tamquam facies hominum. Et halebant capillos sicut capillos mulierum, et dentes earum sicut dentes leonum erant.' The influence of the Apocalypse is very marked in the Sunday letters of the Irish *Cáin Domnaig* and the Anglo-Saxon *Homilies* (v. Priebsch, loc. cit.).
2. *Chronica Rogeri de Hovedene* (Rolls ser.), Vol. IV, pp. 167-172. The episode is also recorded in other chronicles edited in the Rolls series—Walter of Coventry, *Memorials;* Roger of Wendover, and an elaborated account by Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, Vol. II, pp. 462-5.
3. Rowlands, *Cambrian Bibliography*, p. 463 (Llanidloes, 1869).
4. Ibid., p. 595.
5. Ibid., p. 711.
6. I am indebted to Mr. Farr, the Librarian, for allowing me to see this copy.

The title runs :—

A copy of a letter written by our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And found eighteen miles from Iconium fifty-three years after our Blessed Saviour's Crucifixion. Transmitted from the Holy City by a converted Jew. Faithfully translated from the original Hebrew copy, now in the possession of Lady Cuba's family in Mesopotamia. This letter was written by Jesus Christ, and found under a great stone, round and large at the foot of the Cross. Upon this stone was engraven, 'Blessed be he that shall turn me over' . . .

There is no question that Pitts's copy, the Welsh version of 1779, and our manuscript have a common source. In all there is the legend of the turning of the stone[1] and the text of the letter as given by Pitts is so close to the Welsh that it might almost be a translation.

IV

The MS., here transcribed, consists of two leaves, small quarto, written in an engrossing hand of the latter half of the seventeenth century. The two leaves are portions of the original sheet, but there are no indications of joining-marks. The provenance is Anglesey. It was contained as a loose slip in MSS., formerly in the possession of the Bulkeleys of Brynddu, and part of these are in the autograph of Captain John Griffith, commander of the Royal forces in Anglesey during the Civil War. They were purchased some years ago by Mr. J. Glyn Davies who kindly allowed me to make this transcript.

The language of the letter has an unkempt appearance which might suggest a colloquial form, but this is only due to its orthography. The same irregularities occur in sixteenth and seventeenth century MSS. Such forms as 'cimmint' were literary usages in the fifteenth century.[2] I have inserted punctuation marks, as the original is unpunctuated. The foot-notes to the Welsh (marked T) indicate the chief variations with the text printed at Trefriw in 1779.[3]

1. Rev. G. P. Turner, who kindly lent me his copy of Pitts's broadside and gave me much information on it, draws my attention to the parallel with Logion 5, 'Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me.' (See ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ, Egypt Exploration Fund, 1897).

2. J. Glyn Davies, *Welsh Metrics*, Vol. I, p. 18 (London, 1911).

3. I am much indebted to Mr. John Ballinger of the National Library of Wales, who obtained for me the loan of a rare copy of this version, now in the possession of Mr. J. H. Davies Aberystwyth.

Text

Dyma gopi o Lythûr a scrifenodd 'n harglwydd Iesu Grist, hwn Llythur a gaud tan garreg o fiewn Crous'n agos i Dreysmade,[1] miewn pentre a elwyd Maraldie, trwu orchymûn duw. Ar y scrifen hon a gorchmynodd yn Harglwydd Iesu Grist gadw i orchmynion. Fo gaud ar foregwaith, wedi i scrifenû ar garreg fawr lydan, sef: 'Bendigedig iw yr sawl a'i dymchwelo.' Ar geirie a yrwyd i'r pentrefydd oddiamgûlch, ag nhw ddauthont i geisio i throi hi ag nis gallent moi chwimio hi o'i lle. Yno 'r authont ar i gweddi, gan erfyn a dymûno ar dduw ddangos uddûnt ddeallt yr y Scrifen. Yno'r authont trwû chwe fflwû, trwû weddio a chymhortha help dduw; ag eilwaith i ceisiasont i throi hi ag nis gallent moi chwimio hi oi lle. Ond ar ddamwen fe ddauth plentyn rhwng chwech a saith oedran, a hwn heb help ûn dyn dauarol, a'i trodd hi, a thani'r oedd y Llythur yma wedi i scrifenû a llythrene eured.[2] Ar Llythur a ddygwyd i Dreysmade[3] [,yn] 'r hon oudd benaf Arglwyddes a elwyd Mortafel,[4] yr hwn cymrwch y geirie su'n calun:—Gorchymûn duw'n Harglwydd Iesu Grist, a ddanfonodd i Angel yn oud Crist 390. Rhaid i chwi ddoudyd y naill wrth y llall y bydd 'n felltigedig y sawl a weithiant ar y sûl, a hynû gini Iesu Grist. 'R wyfi'n gorchymûn i chwi fund y diwrnod hwnw ir Eglwys trwû barch a defosion, trwû weddio ag erfyn arna fi am fadde i chwi ych pechode. Rhaid i chwi fod y dydd hwnw heb weithio dimm cimint a chribo ych penn na gollchi (*sic*) ych wuneb, ond cadw fy'n gorchmynion 'n ddilus; ag oni chedwch nhw ond i torri a'i anghofio, myfi a dyna ych henwaû allan o Lyfr y Bowyd Tragwyddol. Na ryfeddwch fy mod i wedi digio wrthech chwi am halogi'r Sûl; mi a rois i chwi chwe diwrnod i weithio, ar seitfed dydd a darfû i mi fy hynan i sancteiddio trwû orffwyso. A dowad i'r Eglwys a galw ych plant gida chwi ach tylwyth a dyscwch nhw i weddio ag i gadw fy ngorchmynion. Ag os y chwi a wneiff hyn, myfi a ddanfonaf fy rhad am bendith arnoch, ag a roddaf i chwi hir oûs ar y ddauar ach tiroudd a fyddant ffrwythlon a thorethog i ddwyn amlder o bob ffrwuthe dauarol.[5] Ond onis cedwch nhw ond i amhęrchi ag escluso'r Sûl, anhapus a fyddwch a melltigedig;

1. o fewn gwadn Croes ym Mhentref Morton, yn agos i Istanding [T].
2. Down-stroke only of the 'u'; up-stroke and 'r' blotted out.
3. Dref Istanding [T].
4. Manuyd [T].
5. daionus [T].

ych tir ach dauar a felltithir gini. Fo dowelltir arnoch fellt a thyrrane, tymhestloudd, blinder, newyn, marfoleth, a dyfroudd a ddaw arnoch nes darfod 'n gwbwl ych dystrowio. Rhaid i chwi na weithioch o bump ar y gloch y dydd Sadwrn hyd y bore ddydd Llûn[1]; 'n yr amser hynû erfyniwch arna i am fadde i chwi ych pechode. Rhaid i chwi ymprydio bump Gwener o fiewn y flwuddyn, er coffadwriath o'r pump archoll a ddioddefais i trostoch chwi. Ni chewch i gymeryd nag aûr nag arian na dim arall ar gam; na diystyrû fy ngorchmynion. Rhaid i chwi fy ngharu i ach calon gowir 'n ddiffygiant[2]; a chadw fy ngorchmynion heb i torri. Rhaid i chwi gredû fod y geirie yma gwedi i mi i scrifenû am Llaw fy hûn; ond y neb y ddouto ag amdiystyrio am y geirie yma ag ni roddant clusen ag 'n gallu er fy mwûn i, mi ai gwahodda[3] hwu rhag cael na Bedûdd na dowad i'm bwrdd Sanctaidd i gymuno fy nghorff a'm gwaud. Pwû bynag a ddouto 'n erbyn y geirie yma ag ni chretto mai fy fi a'i scrifenodd am Llaw fy hûn (ag a'i treuthodd am gene fy hûn)[4] nhwthe a felltithir gin i ag a gollir 'n nhan uffern. Ar neb ai scrifeno ai law i hûn, heb i ddyscû i eraill, a fydd melltigedig. Ni chewch i mor newudd gin i ond hyn hyd ddydd y farn. Ond os dyscwch ych plant ach tylwyth a fferi uddunt gadw fy erchaid, Bendigedig a fyddwch. Yr hwn nis cretto i'r pethe hyn ond troseddû fy norchmynion, mi a ddanfonaf attûn bryfed fel llygod y coududd[5] o'i difetha ag o'i difrodi. Pwu bynag a gattwo gopi o'r llythûr yma a fferi i ddarllen ai dreuthû 'n gyfan, trwû edifirwch ag alar, er bod ych pechode o ryfedi'r ser, nhw a gân ddiddanwch. Pwu bynag a'i cattwo ne beri i scrifenû ne a'i pryno am i arian, fo wna iddo les mawr a ffyniant. Ne a'i coilio ag a gattwo gopi o hwn o fiewn y tû, ni cheiff ûn ysbryd drwg ddowad yno, ni cheiff na mellt na thyrane na haint na node na thymhestloudd na ryfeloudd ddowad i'r fan honno. Os bydd gwraig feichiog, a bod y llythûr yma i ddarllen o fiewn y tû, hi a geiff yn fuan esgor i chowlaid 'n esmwuth. Os y chwi a wneiff hyn, pob daioni a ddigwydd i chwi ar y tû y bo 'r Llythûr yma wedi i scrifenu ynddo. Yn enw 'r Tad ar Mab ar Yspryd glân a'n harglwydd Iesu Grist Amen.

1665

1. o chwech or gloch brydnhawn ddydd Sadwrn, hyd y boreu ddydd llun. [T].
2. ddi-fuant [T].
3. gwaharrdda [T].
4. Inserted between the lines in the MS.
5. Ceiliog y Coedydd [T].

Translation

Here is a copy of a letter written by our Lord Jesus Christ, which letter was found beneath a stone inside a cross near to Dreysmade, within a township called Maraldie, by the command of God. On this script our Lord Jesus Christ commanded (us) to keep his commandments. There was found one morning written on a great broad stone : ' Blessed are those who overturn it ' (i.e., the stone). And these words were spread abroad the townships round about, and they came and sought to overturn it and they could not move it from its place. Then went they to pray, entreating and desiring God to give them an understanding of the writing. Then they went through six parishes, praying for the help of God ; and a second time they sought to turn it and they could not move it from its place. But by chance there came a child, between six and seven years old, and he, without the help of any mortal man, overturned it, and beneath was this letter written in golden letters. And the letter was taken to Dreysmade (which was ruled by a noble lady named Mortavel), and contained the following words :—

The command of God (and) our Lord Jesus Christ, who sent his Angel in the year of Christ 390. Ye must say, one to another, that cursed shall they be who work on the Sabbath, and this by me, Jesus Christ. I command ye to go on that day to church with reverence and devotion, praying and beseeching me to forgive your sins. Ye must not, on that day, labour at all, not as much as comb your head nor wash your face, but keep my commandments securely. And if ye do not keep them, but break them and forget me, I shall take out your names from the Book of Eternal Life. Marvel not that I am offended with you for desecrating the Sabbath ; I gave to you six days to work, and the seventh day (I myself) sanctified by resting.[1] And come to church and call together your children and your family with you, and teach them to pray and to keep my commandments. And if ye do this, I will send my grace and blessing on you and I will give you long life on earth, and your lands shall be fruitful and abundant, bearing plenteously of every fruit of the earth. But if ye do not keep them, but disrespect and neglect the Sabbath, unhappy shall you be and cursed ; your land and soil shall be accursed by me. On you shall be poured lightning and thunder, tempests, afflictions, famine, death, and floods shall come upon you until they bring you to utter destruction. Ye must not work from

1. Text confused here.

five o'clock on Saturday until Monday morning; in that time beseech me to forgive your sins. Ye must fast five Fridays in the year, in remembrance of the five wounds I endured for your sakes.[1] Ye shall not wrongly take either gold or silver or anything else; nor shall ye despise my commandments. Ye must love me with your whole heart, without ceasing; and keep my commandments without breaking them. Ye must believe that these words were written with my own Hand; but any who doubt and despise these words and do not give alms (though able so to do) for my sake, I shall forbid[2] them baptism or coming to my Holy Table to partake of my Body and my Blood. Whoso doubts these words and does not believe that I wrote them with my own hand and uttered them with my own lips, shall be accursed by me and shall be lost in hell fire. And anyone who writes this with his own hand without imparting it to others shall be accursed. Ye shall have nothing besides this from me until the Day of Judgment. But if ye teach your children and family and cause them to keep my commandment, blessed shall ye be. They who believe not these things but trespass against my commandments, I will send upon them creatures like unto wood-mice[3], to destroy and to ravage them. Whoever keeps a copy of this letter and causes it to be read and recited from beginning to end in repentance and sorrow, although your (*sic*) sins be as numerous as the stars they shall have joy. Whoever keeps it, or causes it to be written, or buys it with his money, it shall bring him great benefit and increase. Or (whoever) believes it and keeps a copy of this in the house, no evil spirit shall come there; nor shall lightning nor thunder nor pestilence nor plague nor tempests nor wars come to that place. If there be a woman in labour and this letter is read in the house, she will be speedily and easily delivered. If ye will do this, all good will come to you and to the house where the letter is copied. In the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost and our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

1665

LIVERPOOL W. GARMON JONES

1. Pitts's English version reads 'I advise you to fast [five] Fridays in every year, beginning with Good Friday and the four Fridays immediately following, in remembrance of the five bloody wounds which I received for all mankind.' This advice to fast during Easter is rather curious. The five wounds of the Saviour and the five sorrows of the Virgin are frequently mentioned in Welsh mediaeval poetry.
2. MS. reads 'gwahodda' = invite—probably a scribal error. T. reads 'gwahardda' = forbid.
3. This is a literal translation of '*Llygod y Coududd*.' But I suspect here an attempt to render the '*locustae*' of the earlier versions or the '*brucha*' of the '*Cáin Domnaig*.' *Brucha*, Latin *Bruchus* (Kuno Meyer's Contribution, *Ériu*, Vol. II, p. 213).

THE NIGHT WANDERER:

A Poem by Dafydd ab Gwilym (c. 1350)

Text, 1789 ed., No. 208, p. 414. With selected emendations from Cardiff MS. 7 (c. 1600), and Owen Jones' 'D' variant reading (up to l. 24 only) in his copy of the 1873 ed. (see Stern's *Dafydd ab Gwilym*, 3). Cardiff 7 is a poor source, yielding an occasional emendation only, and its variant readings are not worth recording in full. I adopt the following emendations, marking my own restorations with an asterisk: line 15, *gam orddu*, D. (*nos orddu*, C7); 17, *llawer gwlybdrefn maes*, D.; 18, *gorddwys hir*; 22, *cydmeithion**; 27, *dalgrwydr frwydr frad**; 41, *gweled*, C7; 42, *gwylio o**; *goleuodd*; 46, *ser i ni seirian y nos*, C7; 49, *o'r anhoff**; 61, *cywraint ddwy blaid*; *cyweiriwyd.**

The interpretation of some of the vocables needs explanation. L. 13, *cyfraeth*, if not a ghost-word, I read as *cyfr-aeth*, literally 'complete sorrow.' I do not know of another instance of this compound. 22. The precise meaning of *cyfeill(t)* in the fourteenth century is difficult to fix; it has generally the sense of colleague in some bond of profession or family. There can be little doubt that *cydmeithion*, 'fellow-travellers, companions,' was the word used by the bard. *Cydymaith* (sing.) seems to have been ousted by *cyfaill* as far back as the sixteenth century and has long passed out of spoken usage. 29. I have untwisted the tortuous collocation here and put the 'yell' before the 'crossing.' 39. I omit *grair arab gred*, a meaningless stop-gap. 48. *goddaith*, 'clearing-fire,' is used at the present day for furze clearances. 60. *crwper*, 'crupper,' which of course implies 'mounted' hosts. The trappings of a horse seem to have been as decorative in Wales in the fourteenth century as in England. 69. The two games mentioned are *ffristial* and *talbwrdd*, both played with pieces on a board. The latter is the ME. *tavel*, *taevel-bred*, 'backgammon'; it also occurs as *tawlbwrdd*. What game the former was I do not know, and I leave the word out. The frequent association of these games in Welsh bardic poems is probably not due to concurrent popularity but to internal rhyme; the final syllable of *ffristial* rhymes with the penult of *talbwrdd*—rhyme and reason ready-made, as it were.

Stern in his excellent monograph on *Dafydd ab Gwilym* (p. 160) hardly does justice to this poem. He has rightly seized on the wealth of comparisons, but the wandering 'in grausenvoller Nacht' he dismisses with a bare mention. Had Stern had the instructive experience of suddenly losing the flitting sight of a Welsh mountain bog-track at night, with peat-holes all about staring balefully at the stars, he would have lingered longer over this pithy and vivid prelude. It is a good example of Dafydd ab Gwilym's power of creating an atmosphere;

he recalls the creepy sensations of a night-prowl with nerves all on end.

The treatment of the stars, carrying with it Dafydd's incomparable self-assurance, is also a good example of the effect of the Riddle art of the Dark Ages on Welsh nature-poetry. The 'Riddle' element is clearly discernible in the multiplicity and variety of the comparisons.[1]

The text of the poem, helped but little by collation, is a very defective one, and serves incidentally as an example of one of the chief difficulties that beset a conscientious study of Dafydd ab Gwilym.

Both preamble (1-12) and epilogue (83-102) have been omitted in translation. They are commonplace, and, unlike the body of the poem, have no special interest to tempt laborious analysis. They can bide their time for luckier collations, as also can the other portions omitted (31-8; 47; 51-7; 63-4; 67; 73-5; 77-80). Of these omissions in the body of the poem, some are metrically defective (34, 47, 57, 67, 75), others are unintelligible (33, 64), and the rest look like interpolations from other poems (51-6; 77-80). Lines 31-8 contain an allusion to a song about a man in a stone vat,[2] but the doubtful reading of 31 (*dysgais*), the hiatus in 33, and the metrical defect in 34 make the rendering a matter of conjecture, too indefinite at best to add to the literary interest of the poem.

Translation

A journey I went in misery, wandering blindly on the bare moor at night. A long, tortuous, and pitch-black path it was last night, like Tristan's, to the Slender Fair.

Sombre and tedious were the many long-ridged fields

1. As newspaper files are not usually available for ready reference, I reprint a passage from my article on Dafydd ab Gwilym in the *Western Mail*, 14 August, 1913. 'His art is the love-song in a gorgeous setting of wild nature. There was nothing exclusively Welsh about the combination; the pastoral of the Middle Ages, the arts of troubadour and minnesinger, the peculiar industry of the Goliard, all these had long made the main ideas of Dafydd's songs familiar in the cloisters. But where Dafydd ab Gwilym seems to make the Welsh art a distinctive one is in his greater preoccupation with wild nature itself. His wealth of simile and metaphor found greater scope in fanciful descriptions of bird and beast, fog and snow, woodland and fen, than in the less adaptable material of abstract love. Expanded by this treatment, nature-poetry bulks large, and in many poems takes up nearly the whole length. The art of simile and metaphor was a special one, the Riddle art of the Dark Ages in its Welsh development. It was the grafting of this art on a cloistral pastoral that, in all probability, brought about the product that gives Wales so distinctive a place in European literature.'

2. See *D. ab G.*, 1789, No. 172, p. 345, for such a song, 'The rhyme of the man under the vat,' but surely Dafydd ab Gwilym was too good a craftsman to spoil a good poem by so ineffective an allusion. His allusion is more probably to one of the 'lost legion' of mediaeval legends in Wales.

I trudged. I trudged along nine thickets and along ancient hill-forts, and then to the stronghold of goblins, hateful companions. From the grisly stronghold I reached the bogs on the uplands of the great mountain ; the headland blackened before me, no easy thing to do, as though I were a war-captured straggler in the depths of a locked dungeon. It was too grisly ; I gave a discordant yell and crossed myself ; it was high time to . . .[1]

The son of the Virgin Mary . . .[2] does not sleep when there is great rescuing to do. Beholding the dire extremity of a worthy bard, watchful God gave me light. To end my great trouble, from the sky there came to me the Twelve Signs, a beautiful shower, the stars quickly revealing themselves in their pride. The night sparkled. . . .[3] Sparks from the clearing-fires of Seven Saints[4] : flaming plums from the unbeloved moon ; the overflowing fruit of the frost-moon. . . .[5]

The mirrors, the half-pence of great God. Frosted pure ruddy gold. The crupper gems of the mounted host of heaven. Orderly are the two armies ; the battle of Camlan[6] has been arrayed on the wide sombre sky. . . .[7]

No gust of wind can blow the peg-holes of the sky out of their comb.[8] . . .[9] They are the great embers of the sky : brightly wrought pieces of backgammon. . .[10] on the stout board of the sky : the pins we gaze at in the head-dress of the firmament . . .[11] trefoil on the plots of the sky. . . .[12]

Goodly are they to behold, the unstrung and scattered rosary of Holy God.

J. GLYN DAVIES

Liverpool

1. ll. 31-8.
2. Part of l. 39.
3. l. 47.
4. 'd. i. den grossen Bären.' Stern.
5. ll. 51-7.
6. Arthur's last battle.
7. ll. 63-4.
8. Comb of a harp.
9. l. 67.
10. See note on l. 69, above.
11. ll. 73-5.
12. ll. 77-80.

JOHN MAJOR

I

It seemed to me that the friend in whose honour I am asked to give a small contribution might be gratified by a brief account of one of his compatriots, who like himself was a genuine and fervid Scot, an enthusiast, and a prophet whose prophecies have come true partly through the belief inspired in his audience of their reasonableness. That personage is John Major, the Scottish Scholastic, who lived, taught, and wrote from 1470 to 1550, one of the most stirring periods in modern history. The materials for judging of his life and work are afforded us in Mr. Archibald Constable's scholarly translation of Major's *Greater Britain*, the preface to the same work by Mr. Aeneas Mackay, and the essay on John Major, published in the collected *Essays and Reviews* of Dr. Law (Edinburgh, 1904). Major seems to have been but little known in his own country until quite recently, as we may judge from the fact that his famous history of Britain, written in Latin in 1521, should have remained for 375 years without a translator. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* dismisses him very curtly, merely remarking that he was spoken of as having been in his day an oracle in religious matters, and that it has been conjectured that both the Great Reformer and Buchanan were largely indebted to him for their advanced opinions on questions ecclesiastical and political. 'His writings,' the author of the article continues, 'do not now, however, possess any interest or importance apart from this circumstance, and even Buchanan has allowed himself to speak of his old preceptor as "Joannes, solo cognomine Major."'

As a matter of fact Major's personality, interesting as it was, was not that of a 'precursor of the Reformation,' his theological opinions were those of the Scholastic Catholics of his day. Dr. Law says :—

> Major as a theologian is for his date moderate and safe. He lays down the timid rule 'Sententia Communior, ergo verior.' He dislikes novelties, and apologizes if he is found on the side of the *neoterici*. He had some learning, a good memory, and much shrewd sense. He was fond of anecdote, and addicted to digressions : his books are therefore a storehouse of information on all manner of antiquarian lore, the habits of 'brownies,' the incomes of bishops, curiosities of natural history and agricultural

prices. He had read, and quotes constantly, the Latin classics, but the spirit of humanism had not touched him . . . His admiration of Aristotle amounted to worship.

His character and intellectual aims may be best gauged by the fact that what he regarded as the great work of his life was his commentary on the four books of the *Sentences* of Peter the Lombard. Peter was the most illustrious of the Schoolmen, a pupil of Abelard, who, claiming to be a pillar of orthodoxy, laid down the principle that nothing is to be believed but what has first been understood, whereas the ordinary teaching of the church was that faith must precede intellectual apprehension. Abelard published a collection of doctrinal contradictions from the fathers (*Sic et Non*) : and Peter the Lombard continued his preceptor's work in the composition of *Sententiarum Libri IV*, an arranged collection of sentences from Augustine and other Fathers, dealing with points of Christian doctrine, with objections and replies taken from authors of repute. The schoolmen of the succeeding generation parted into two great divisions : the followers of St. Thomas Aquinas, the great Dominican, and those of Duns Scotus ' the subtle doctor,' the devout Franciscan. Both of these schools, it must be noticed, were orthodox as to Catholic dogma, both alike held the Pope to be the ' supreme guardian and divinely instituted exponent of the deposit of faith.' The Scotists, while absolutely holding fast to the belief in Christian doctrines, professed an absolute scepticism as to the arguments commonly used to maintain these doctrines. The Thomists asserted that God commands what is good simply because it is good : St. Thomas placed happiness in the knowledge of God, Scotus in the love of God. Both schools alike, however, had as their aim to draw logical conclusions from the fixed premisses of dogma ; and it may be of interest to quote, as characteristic of the schoolmen's way of thought, a question of casuistry as discussed by Major. I will not cite his exact words for he is very cumbrous and long-winded, but this is the substance of the case which he states :—

In certain cases you may be said to fast, even though you eat meat. You are allowed to eat beans and peas which contain insects, which are flesh. The Church excuses invincible ignorance from breaking up these vegetables so as to catch the insects. Therefore the Church allows under certain circumstances the eating of flesh in Lent without a dispensation. Again, the beaver always keeps his hinder parts in the water and his front part out of the water : therefore you may eat

the posterior without breaking your fast, but not the foreparts.

We can hardly repress a contemptuous smile at such puerilities, and we find it hard to reconcile such trifling with the possession of much shrewd sense and judgment. But for those of our generation Major will always possess an interest dependent on the side lights which he gives us on the times in which he lived. He lived for seventy-nine years during the century which preceded the Scottish Reformation; he was both a learner and a teacher during his life: he was a witness of the Renaissance of letters without sharing in the glory and joy of that thrilling epoch, and he witnessed the rise of Protestantism without interest, but rather with a feeling of contempt. He passed part of his life in England, probably some seven years, in the North and afterwards found his way to Cambridge University. He further visited Oxford, and studied at some of the most distinguished schools in France, commencing his course of Arts at the College of St. Barbe, and afterwards migrating to the College of Montaigu. From this travelled Scot we are enabled to picture to ourselves something of the University life in France at the time when it was the most renowned seat of learning in the world. But what is of greater interest to us is the picture which Major gives us of the 'greater Britain' of his day, at a period when these very words are often in our mouths in a larger sense. Major's forecast of the union between his own country and its larger neighbour, which he admired so much, was one of those forecasts which contribute to their own fulfilment, much as Rousseau's *Contrat Social* contributed to bring about the French Revolution. The course of history is determined not unfrequently by the utterances of distinguished men, who may indeed be influenced by the thoughts of their epoch, but who by their writings make these thoughts effective aids to progress.

II

Major was probably born in 1469 in the parish of N. Berwick. He seems to have been of humble origin, probably the son of a small farmer of some Church lands. But it appears that even in pre-Reformation days a 'lad of parts' found an easy ladder prepared for his advancement. He probably went to the school of Haddington, of which John Knox was afterwards a scholar. He next chose the vocation of a 'travelling scholar,'

an excellent educational method of the Middle Ages, which tended to create a true international republic of letters and to keep the scholarship of all countries in touch. At the age of twenty-three, in the year 1493, he found his way to Cambridge University, at this time a favourite resort of Scottish students, though he remarks that Oxford was commonly held in his country in higher reputation than the sister University, and that Balliol College, even then, offered great attractions to north countrymen. He became a student at what was then called *God's House*, the earlier foundation which in 1505 was converted into Christi College. He remarks that while at Cambridge he, during the great festivals, spent half the night awake listening to the bells: 'the bells of St. Osenay are the best in England, and, as in music the English excel all other nations, so they excel in the sweet and artistic modulation of their bells.' It may be noted that bells were not usual in parish churches in Scotland even at the end of the last century, and it must be confessed that those at present in use do not give us great cause to regret their absence.

From Cambridge Major passed in 1493 to Paris, which at that time contained the most famous university in Europe, especially for the training of theological students. Its colleges were recruited from all the nations of Europe, from Scandinavia, Scotland, Spain. It was computed that there were at least 10,000 scholars studying there, and we must bear in mind that at this epoch Europe was probably peopled by not more than a tenth part of the population it now boasts. National jealousy and the growth of Oxford and Cambridge had recently withdrawn the English students, and the Scotch who frequented Paris were now enrolled in the Natio Alemannica instead of the Natio Anglicana. We have seen that before his visit to Paris he had lived and travelled in England, and some of his observations are of interest as those of a contemporary witness. He affirms that the population of Paris at that time was three times that of London: that it was the business of the Mayor of London to provide for the corn supply for that city, and that if enough were not produced in this country he had to see to its importation. He notices that there are between three and four thousand tame swans in the Thames near London: though he adds, with Herodotean *naïveté* and with true Scottish caution 'I have never counted them.' He considers York the second city in the kingdom and Norwich the third. Of the English Universities he remarks that the number (in each)

is 4,000 or 5,000, and that the course of study is seven or eight years before a student can graduate as Master of Arts. Enough attention is not paid to grammar. There are more laymen (i.e., townsmen) in the University towns than students: still the laymen do not venture to rise against the students who would soon put them down, these students being all adults, and for the most part of good birth, and carrying swords and bows. He praises the morality of the English ecclesiastics at the expense of his own countrymen: but he leads us to think that the opinion entertained by the English about themselves is much the same as at present, for it is an opinion still piously and firmly held by many of our countrymen, which fails to make us regarded as supermen on the Continent. 'For courage, prudence, and other virtues the English do not think themselves the least nation in the world, and if they meet a foreigner who has parts or bravery it is much to be regretted, they say, that he was not an Englishman.' After graduating, he taught philosophy as Regent in Arts down to 1505, when he took his degree as doctor of theology. He remained in Paris for some twelve years after this, and became one of the most famous professors of Theology.

The time spent by Major in France was one of the most interesting known to History. The revival of learning, begun in Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had in the sixteenth crossed the Alps, and under the guidance of Erasmus taken root in France, England, Germany, and the Low Countries. France was unifying herself into a real nation by the absorption of the great feudal houses and was adding to her civilisation the arts of Italy, whence she was driven by the disastrous battle of Pavia. During the time of Major's sojourn in France, owing to events which are too complicated to recount here, the hostility between England and France had been sharply accentuated, and the popularity of the Scotch with England's hereditary foe had correspondingly increased. Scottish students and Scottish professors expected and found a warm welcome and a career in the fair city which Major's distinguished pupil has described in language which might pass for an encomium by Ausonius on his beloved Burdigala. A perhaps fanciful description of the University, as it appeared in the fifteenth century, from the pen of Victor Hugo is in our possession: it can here be given in a condensed form only.

The University lay along the left bank of the Seine, and formed a harmonious picture of a compact whole. Three

thousand roofs, set at corresponding angles, seemed to be crystallized into a harmonious rigidity. The number of its colleges was forty-two, and the summits of these beautiful buildings rose in regular order above the roofs which they surmounted. A few superb erections broke the stately monotony of the Colleges, one of which, the Hôtel de Cluny, remains to delight the artist: besides these, there were many abbeys, of which the Square Tower of St. Geneviève still stands to tantalize us with the loss of the rest; and the Sorbonne, half college, half monastery, of which an admirable nave still survives. The colleges, a link between the cloister and the world, were the standing monuments of the way in which Gothic Art adapted itself at once to the exigencies of Luxury and Learning. The churches, both numerous and splendid, of every age of architecture, from the circular arch of Julian, to the pointed arch of St. Séverin, overtopped all, adding to this mass of harmonies an additional harmony. The site of the University lay on the hills. To the S.E. the hill of St. Geneviève formed an enormous wen, and it was curious to mark the complex of narrow winding streets now called 'le pays Latin': some of these seemed tottering to their fall, others to be climbing upwards, and all to be clinging for support to each other. This was the scene into which the poor Scotch student was ushered. The capital of France at this time contained some four or five thousand houses, chiefly of wood: its main thoroughfare was the narrow street leading from the Castle to the Abbey. The atmosphere was one of beauty and of learning alike: scholars of all lands were inspired by the very surroundings: they felt themselves the recipients of the citizenship of that Home of the Arts which had swayed and embellished the past: and here they were to rock the cradle of the Science which was to shape the Future.

A word on the condition of the College of Montaigu may interest teachers. The College of Montaigu was at this time under the principalship of John Standock, a native of the Low Countries. He saw with regret that many bursaries founded at the University for the poor had been swallowed up by the rich. Had he lived to the present day he would have remarked 'Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.' Consequently he resolved to form a College in the University for the true poor; and, to preserve the College from the invasion of the rich, he resolved to subject his students to a Spartan existence. Their food consisted of bread, beans, eggs, and herrings—all

doled out in small quantities; and no meat. They fasted on all fast days, rose at cock-crow and did all the menial work of the College. The routine of a fag at Winchester sixty years ago (from which I am devoutly thankful to have been delivered) in some degree resembled theirs. The life at this College was so hard that it furnished the great Erasmus, himself a student there, with matter for a biting satire, viz., his colloquy between a butcher and a vendor of salt fish, called the *Ichthyophagia*. The fishmonger says 'what with lying on hard beds, bad diet, late and hard studies, some young geniuses were killed, others were driven mad, others became lepers; all had their lives imperilled.' Erasmus gives the sage advice that human rigour should not, under the pretext of religion, mar the lives of inexperienced and tender youth. He, like many other scholars, had but a poor digestion: he says of himself that he had a Protestant stomach, but a Catholic spirit. There were Dotheboys Halls in other countries than our own, but Major seems to have been of tougher fibre than Erasmus.

III

From the College of Montaigu Major passed to the College of Navarre, of which he became Regent. Though a perfectly orthodox Catholic, he stood forth as the champion of the 'Gallican Liberties,' according to which the Pope is not the ultimate authority in matters of Faith, when contradicted by a General Council. It is, however, untrue to suppose that the expression of these views implied any sympathy with the views of Luther, Knox, or even those of his pupil Buchanan, for he abhorred Protestantism. It is singular to think of Major as the fellow student alike of Ignatius Loyola and of Calvin and Rabelais. In 1505, Major transferred his services to the Sorbonne and lectured on Theology. The Sorbonne was at this time the very head and centre of Roman orthodoxy. In 1518, Major became Principal of Glasgow University, where John Knox was one of his pupils, and after five years he passed to the University of St. Andrews, the oldest, and at that time the chief university of Scotland. It was modelled after the College for poor scholars at Louvain, itself a replica of Montaigu College. The scholars were to be admitted after examination: not to be older than twenty-one, poor, virtuous, versed in the first and second parts of grammar,

good writers and good singers. There were examinations then as now; poverty was respected in a scholar; the singing might easily have been better than at the present day. The subjects prescribed for lectures were grammar, poetry, and rhetoric, logic, physics, philosophy, metaphysics, and one of the books of Solomon. During all the time of his connection with the Universities as teacher, Major was an indefatigable worker; in his lectures and works he embraced almost all of the Aristotelian philosophy and commented upon it. He was the last great master of the scholastic method, which was now yielding to the modern ways of thought engendered by the Renaissance. Addressing itself as it did to the higher questions such as the nature of the Divinity, the origin of the universe, the scope of the human mind, it likewise condescended to a series of casuistical questions and trivial hair-splitting such as those which have been previously mentioned. They were such as the sarcasm of Melanchthon, the satire of Rabelais, and the epigrams of Buchanan could hardly exaggerate.

To Major, while he was yet at St. Andrews, came, attracted by the fame of his learning, a Highland youth, the future great Latinist of Europe, George Buchanan. I am sorry to say that Buchanan failed to appreciate the learning of his master and assailed him at a later period with the most bitter epigrams. The two scholars were the embodiment of two different types of learning: the one orthodox and traditional, the last mediaeval scholar: the pupil was a graceful figure who inaugurated a new order of ideas. The one was inspired by the master of 'color che sanno' and looked on the world through the spectacles of Peter the Lombard: the other derived his inspiration from the tender melancholy of Virgil, the passion of Catullus, the laboured felicity of Horace.

IV

The work of Major's which possesses most interest for us at the present day is the *History of Greater Britain*. It has been faithfully translated by Mr. Archibald Constable. Written in Latin, it narrates succinctly the annals of England and Scotland from the earliest time to the marriages of Henry VII's daughters: Margaret to James IV of Scotland, and Mary to Louis XII of France, and after his death to the Duke of Suffolk. He was the first advocate of the union between

Scotland and England, and this is remarkable enough in a Scotsman educated in France. He states that the Scotch nobles and those of England objected to any such scheme, but he is sure that it would profit both by causing their feuds to cease. He frequently reflects on the tyranny and lack of patriotism of the nobility of his country. Wallace, not Bruce, is his national hero: and he says with Juvenal that true nobility is to be found in noble actions alone. All the Scotsmen of his time alleged that they were first cousins of the king, and he would argue with them thus:—You say that no one is noble unless both his parents were noble. If so, was Adam noble or not? If he was *not*, they denied the premiss, if he *was*, then so are all his children; so either all are noble or none.

He sees the necessity of reform in the church: he deplores the gross abuse of pluralities and non-residence, and is surprised that none of the great Scottish prelates had applied some of their wealth to the foundation of Universities. As to the character enjoyed by his countrymen he tells us that the Frenchmen of his day had a proverb 'As proud as a Scotsman.' 'I do not deny that some of the Scots may be boastful and puffed up, but,' he adds with characteristic caution, 'whether they suffer more than their neighbours from such-like faults I have not made up my mind.' He is indignant with St. Jerome who states that when he was in Gaul, he saw the Scots eating human flesh; adding that even if it were true it would bring no stain on their posterity. The faithful in Europe are descended from the Gentile and the infidel. No man goes unarmed in Scotland to church or market, nor indeed outside of the village in which he dwells. What he says about town and country seems surprisingly modern. 'Countrymen excel townsmen in the art of war and prove much stouter soldiers. Townsfolk are accustomed to luxurious eating and drinking and a quiet fashion of life: they give in therefore when brought to face the hard life of a soldier. He blames the gentry because they educate their children neither in letters nor in morality: no small calamity (he thinks) to the State, and the consequence of this is that they were constant stirrers up of sedition. His attitude with regard to miracles is that they are constantly occurring, and the saints of old performed them in numbers: but he deprecates their unnecessary multiplication and states that a saint need not be a miracle-worker. The Almighty can place the body of a saint in two or three different places. At the same time Major prefers to assume, where possible,

natural agencies: may not the Creator have constructed the entire body of Eve by placing the rib in different places? One of his great miracle-worshippers was none other than S. Fiacre, once the patron saint of gardeners, but now better known as the common word for a hackney cab in Paris. The key for this transference of meaning is that the proprietor of the Hôtel de St. Fiacre, in the Rue St. Martin, in 1640 kept carriages on hire, and over the doorway was the image of that Saint. He is greatly struck with the beauty of the English people, so that he does not marvel at St. Gregory's dictum on seeing some English captives exposed for sale at Rome 'Non Angli sed angeli.' He refers their grace and beauty to the fact that their young men use no wine, and we may suppose that the water of England at that time contained less microbes. But he makes an exception in the case of the men of Rochester, who are born with tails, because, when St. Augustine preached to them, they threw fish-tails at the man of God: wherefore the saint made his prayer to the Deity that for a punishment for their sins their infants should be born with tails to the end that they might be warned not to contemn the teachers of divine things. The tailed condition in which they are born is by no means to be attributed to influence of climate: 'nor do I believe' that at the time of St. Augustine men were regularly born with tails: but this punishment was inflicted for a time only and to the end that an unbelieving race might believe their teacher. The Scots and Gauls believe the opposite.

He is as violent an anti-Semite as M. Drumont or a Russian pope. He commends Edward I for his expulsion of the Jews from England, and advances as his opinion that all governments would do well to expel from their country the stubborn Hebrews unless they kept them to tax them heavily. This anti-Semitism was indeed a characteristic product of the Renaissance; the Church fully sympathised with the State in its horror of usury, which was bound up with Hebraism: and the invention of banking, due, as we know, to Venice and Lombardy, was aimed at organizing wealth and placing the State instead of the usurer in the position of lender. Nay, the *Mont de Piété*, or Government pawnshop, was invented by a monk of Perugia and approved of by three Popes in succession. The great Savonarola established a *mont de piété* in Florence in 1495 with the aim of baffling the Jews, who lent money at not less than 32½ per cent.: and it was a Franciscan monk who wrote the first treatise on banking and the Laws of Exchange: previous treatises were founded

on Canon Law and the deductions of Casuists. These Italian priests, though nearly contemporaneous with Major, represent the methods and feelings of a new epoch : Major acted upon instinct and sentiment : it was reserved for his immediate successors to translate these into scientific methods.

I will conclude this paper by an extract from Dr. Law's essay on the Scottish Scholastic :—

> Majors Exponibilia, Insolubilia, Summulae, and Termini, his commentaries on Peter the Lombard and the Gospels were soon forgotten. But it will not be to the honour of the guardians of Scottish literature if its most precious relic of pure unadulterated mediaevalism be either ignored or misunderstood. The *History of Greater Britain*, with its accompanying record of the author's life and work, should at least revive the memory of a national worthy whose mental figure and equipments form a notable landmark in the history of European thought.

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SONNETS ON A SONNET

The sonnet-form, first imported into Spain by the Marqués de Santillana during the first half of the fifteenth century, was not naturalized in the Peninsula till a hundred years later. *Las obras de Boscan y algunas de Garcilasso de la Vega repartidas en quatro libros* were published in 1542 and brought sonneteering into fashion. Thenceforward almost every Spanish poet of the time produced his sheaf of sonnets, more or less imitative, and perhaps before the close of the sixteenth century it occurred to some ingenious spirit to compose a *Sonnet on a Sonnet.* The first specimen to appear in print was issued in Pedro Espinosa's *Primera Parte de las Flores de poetas ilustres de España* (Valladolid, 1605) :—

Diego de Mendoza

Pedis, reyna, un soneto : ya le hago ;
Ya el primer verso y el segundo es hecho.
Si el tercero me sale de provecho,
Con otro verso el un quarteto os pago.
Ya llego al quinto. España, Santiago !
Fuera, que entro en el sexto ; sus, buen pecho !
Si del septimo salgo, gran derecho
Tengo a salir con vida deste trago.
Ya tenemos a un cabo los quartetos.
Que me dezis, señora ? no ando bravo ?
Mas sabe Dios si temo los tercetos :
Y si con bien este soneto acabo.
Nunca en toda mi vida mas sonetos !
Ya deste, gloria a Dios, he visto el cabo.

Who was this Diego de Mendoza to whom the sonnet is ascribed in Espinosa's collection ? Adolfo de Castro had no doubt on the subject, and boldly printed the lines among the works of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1500-1575), the celebrated ambassador of Charles V.[1] The sonnet does not figure in the posthumous collection of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's verses issued at Madrid in 1610.[2] Quirós de los Ríos and Sr. D. Francisco Rodríguez Marín, the latest editors of Espinosa's

1. *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. XXXII, p. 84 (sonnet XXX).

2. W. I. Knapp, *Obras poéticas de D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* (Madrid, 1877), regards the ascription as doubtful, and prints the sonnet in an appendix (pp. 480-481).

anthology, attribute the sonnet to a certain Captain Diego de Mendoza de Barros[1] who is stated to have been born at Antequera, and to have died at Valladolid in 1601, twenty-six years later than his famous namesake.[2] With regard to the authorship of this sonnet, we must be content in this matter, as in so many others, to take refuge in a humble agnosticism.

Few men had less natural vocation for sonneteering than Baltasar del Alcázar, the witty and mischievous Seville poet whose *Cena jocosa* is known wherever Spanish is spoken; but the mode was too strong for him, and he has left us no less than sixty-eight sonnets, amatory, gay, devout and miscellaneous. Alcázar died on January 16, 1606, but we have no other indication to help us to fix the date of a *Sonnet on a sonnet* which was first printed in 1863[3] under his name:—

Yo acuerdo revelaros un secreto
En un soneto, Inés, bella enemiga;
Mas por buen orden que yo en este siga,
No podra ser en el primer cuarteto.
Venidos al segundo, yo os prometo
Que no se ha de pasar sin que os lo diga;
Mas estoy hecho, Inés, una hormiga
. . . . . .[4]
Pues ved, Inés, qué ordena el duro hado,
Que teniendo el soneto ya en la boca
Y el orden de decillo ya estudiado,
Conté los versos todos, y he hallado
Que por la cuenta que a un soneto toca,
Ya este soneto, Inés, es acabado.

Alcázar may possibly have written his sonnet before Mendoza [de Barros] wrote his, but to Mendoza belongs whatever credit is due to the setting of a fashion. Among the contributors to Espinosa's anthology was Lope de Vega, and it was one of Lope's many weaknesses that he could never see a literary success of any kind, however insignificant, without trying to cap it. Mendoza's lines are doubtless responsible for a similar

1. *Primera Parte de las Flores de poetas ilustres de España . . . Segunda edición, dirigida y anotada por D. Juan Quirós de los Ríos y D. Francisco Rodríguez Marín . . .* (Sevilla, 1896), p. 368.

2. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Horacio en España* (Madrid, 1885), p. 12 n.

3. *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos, formado con los apuntamientos de Don Bartolomé José Gallardo, coordinados y aumentados por D. M. R. Zarco del Valle y D. J. Sancho Rayon* (Madrid, 1863-66-88-89), Vol. I, col. 75.

4. This hiatus occurs in Gallardo, and in Sr. D. Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *Poesías de Baltasar del Alcázar* (Madrid, n. d. [1910]), p. 199.

performance which the *gracioso* Chacon spouts to Don Juan in the third act of *La Niña de plata*[1] :—

Vn soneto me manda hazer Violante
que en mi vida me he visto en tal aprieto,
catorze versos dizen que es soneto,
burla burlando van los tres delante.
Yo pense que no hallara consonante,
y estoy a la mitad de otro quarteto,
mas si me veo en el primer terceto
no ay cosa en los quartetos que me espante.
Por el primer terceto voy entrando,
y parece que entrè con pie derecho,
pues fin con este verso le voy dando.
Ya estoy en el segundo, y aun sospecho
que voy los treze versos acabando,
contad si son catorze, y està hecho.[2]

It seems reasonable to think Lope de Vega's sonnet inspired most other poems of the same kind. Perhaps the first of his imitators was Voiture who draws up a recipe for the composition of a *rondeau* as follows :—

Ma foy, c'est fait du moy, car Isabeau
M'a conjuré de luy faire un rondeau.
Cela me met en une peine extreme,
Quoy treize vers, huit en eau, cinq en eme !
Je luy ferois aussi-tost un batteau.

En voila cinq pourtant en un monceau.
Faisons en huict, en invoquant Brodeau,
Et puis mettons par quelque stratageme
Ma foy, c'est fait.

Si je pouvois encor de mon cerveau
Tirer cinq vers, l'ouvrage seroit beau :
Mais cependant je sois dedan l'unzième,
Et si je croy que je fais le douzième.
En voila treize ajustez au niveau.
Ma foy, c'est fait[3] !

1. It has often been stated, amongst others by M. Alfred Morel-Fatio (*Études sur l'Espagne*, Troisième Série, Paris, 1904, p. 157) that *La Niña de plata* was written by Lope de Vega in June, 1613. This appears to be a misapprehension. The British Museum Library contains a manuscript play entitled *La Niña de plata*, dated January 29, 1613. It is not in Lope's handwriting and bears no resemblance to Lope's play : see Hugo Albert Rennert, *The Life of Lope de Vega* (Glasgow, 1904), p. 210 n.

2. *Doze Comedias de Lope de Vega, Sacadas de sus originales por el mismo . . . Novena Parte* (Madrid, 1617), p. 124.

3. *Oeuvres de Monsieur de Voiture* [*Poésies*] (Paris, 1650), p. 68.

In this case the imitation is not avowed, possibly because Voiture thought the source too obvious to call for indication. More scrupulous and precise, as becomes a cleric and an official, Regnier Desmarais at the beginning of the eighteenth century entitles one of his poems thus :—

SONNET IMITÉ DE LOPE DE VEGUE

Doris, qui sait qu'aux vers quelquefois je me plais,
Me demande un sonnet, et je m'en désespère.
Quatorze vers, grand Dieu ! le moyen de les faire !
En voilà cependant desjà quatre de faits.
Je ne pouvois d'abord trouver de rime ; mais
En faisant on apprend à se tirer d'affaire.
Poursuivons, les quatrains ne m'estonneront guère,
Si du premier terset je puis faire les frais.
Je commence au hasard, et, si je ne m'abuse,
Je n'ai pas commencé sans l'aveu de la Muse,
Puisqu'en si peu de temps je m'en tire si net.
J'entame le second et ma joie est extrême,
Car des vers commandez j'acheve le treizième,
Comptez s'ils sont quatorze, et voilà le sonnet.[1]

It seems likely that these verses by Regnier Desmarais suggested *A Sonnet Imitated from the Spanish of Lopez de Vega* printed in the second edition of Dodsley.[2] This wretched version has been frequently attributed to the antiquary Thomas Edwards, but is more probably an improvisation by his collaborator in *Canons of Criticism*—Richard Roderick[3] (1711-1756). Perhaps

Capricious W* a sonnet needs must have,
I ne'er was so put to't before,—a Sonnet!
Why, fourteen verses must be spent upon it!
'Tis good howe'er t'have conquer'd the first stave.

Yet I shall ne'er find rhymes enough by half,
Said I, and found myself i' th' midst o' the second.
If twice four verses were but poorly reckon'd,
I should turn back on th' hardest part and laugh.

Thus far with good success I think I've scribbled,
And of the twice seven lines have clean got o'er ten.
Courage ! another 'll finish the first triplet.
Thanks to thee, muse, my work begins to shorten,
There's thirteen lines got through driblet by driblet.
'Tis done ! count how you will, I warr'nt there's fourteen.

* W is sometimes identified with Daniel Wray, but without sufficient reason.

1. *Poésies françoises de M. l'Abbé Regnier Desmarais, Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'Académie françoise* (Paris, 1708), p. 91.

2. *A Collection of Poems. In Three Volumes. By Several Hands* (London: Printed . . . for R. Dodsley, at Tully's Head in Pall-Mall, 1748), Vol. II, p. 323.

3. This conjecture is based on a manuscript note by Horace Walpole in his copy of Dodsley, now in the British Museum.

the next to join in the sport of mimicking Lope was the Hamburger Daniel Schiebeler[1] (1741-1771) who, though not the happiest of elegant triflers, is at least less maladroit than his English predecessor.

The flying ball was then taken up in Spain by the fabulist Tomás de Yriarte (1750-1791) who readily passes from moralizing to frivolity :—

Cumple el Autor la palabra que dió de escribir un Soneto á los ojos de Laura

¿ Un Soneto á tus ojos, Laura mia ?
¿ No hai mas que hacer Sonetos ? y á tus ojos ? —
Serán los versos duros, serán floxos ;
Pero á Laura mi afecto los envía.
¿ Con que ha de ser Soneto ? Hai tal porfia !—
Ya ! que por estos súbitos arrojos
Se ven tantos Poetas en sonrojos,
Que lo quiero dexar para otro dia.—
Respondes, Laura, que no importa un pito
Que no séa el Soneto mui discreto,
Como hable de tus ojos infinito.—
¿ Si ?—Pues luego escribirle te prometo.
Allá. Voi . . . ¿ Para qué ? si ya está escrito
Laura mia, á tus ojos el Soneto.[2]

The most ingenious of men might well have thought the subject too worn for further treatment. But not so. Tomás José Gonzalez Carvajal (1753-1834), the grave translator of the Psalms, was spurred to rival Yriarte, and acquits himself most creditably :—

1. *Auserlesene Gedichte* (Hamburg, 1773), pp. 175-176.

Du forderst ein Sonnett von mir ;
Du weisst, wie schwer ich dieses finde,
Darum, du lose Rosalinde,
Versprichst du einen Kuss dafür.

Was ist, um einen Kuss von dir
Das sich Myrtill nicht unterstünde ?
Ich glaube fast, ich überwinde ;
Sieh, zwey Quadrains stehn ja schon hier !

Auf Einmal hört es auf zu fliessen !
Nun werd' ich doch verzagen müssen !
Doch nein, hier ist schon Ein Terzett.

Nun beb' ich doch — Wie werd' ich schliessen ?
Komm, Rosalinde, lass dich küssen !
Hier, Schönste, hast du dein Sonnett.

2. I quote from the oldest edition within my reach : *Coleccion de obras en verso y prosa de D. Tomas de Yriarte* (Madrid, 1805), Vol. II, p. 243.

Voy a hacer un soneto, porque ahora
De sonetos está la musa mia,
Que hay quien muda dictámen cada dia,
Y mi musa lo muda cada hora.
No es mucho ser mudable, si es señora ;
Y yo, que le conozco la manía,
Temo, si me descuido, que se ria
De mí, porque es un tanto burladora.
Pues que si rematado aquel cuarteto
Se le antoja una décima ú octava,
No hay que acordarse mas de tal soneto.
Mas loado sea Dios, que ya se acaba
En añadiendo al último terceto
Este verso, no más, que le faltaba.[1]

And a generation later Balmes, the once famous champion of orthodoxy, produced a variant which appeared posthumously under the title of

Un Soneto Imposible

Tú, Camilo, me pides un soneto,
Y me pones con eso en tal apuro
Que ni sé como empieze, y te aseguro
Que no quiero ponerme en ese aprieto.
Nó, nó : yo en tal hondura no me meto,
Pues aunque un cuarteto compusiera,
Es cierto que del otro no saliera,
Y cumplir lo imposible no prometo.
Y si acaso lograra con gran pena
Uno y otro cuarteto ver formado,
Ya el tercero me diera mas faena.
Que eso me es imposible te he probado,
Mas si á ello tu gusto me condena,
Tómale : ya lo tienes acabado.[2]

A long lull follows in Spain, but interest in the *Sonnet on a sonnet* survives abroad, and we hear of versions by John Adamson (1787-1855), the biographer of Camoens ; by the Shakespearian critic, John Payne Collier (1789-1883); and by William Fitzgerald

1. This is noted as appearing in Gonzalez Carvajal's *Opusculos inéditos* (Madrid, 1847), p. 134, This edition being inaccessible to me, I quote from the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. .Vol. LXVII, p. 562.

2. Jaime Balmes, *Poesías póstumas* (Barcelona, 1849), p. 34.

(1814-1883), bishop of Killaloe.[1] Of the foreign adaptations the most curious and least known is one in the Pisan dialect by Renato Fucini entitled

La Scommessa.

Paolo. Quattoldici minuti ! . . . uno per velso ? . . .
Abbi pazienza, 'un ti ci pol' entrare.
Neri. Le ciarle 'un contan nulla, è tempo pèlso . . .
Scommetémo.
Paolo. Scommetto un desinare.
Neri. Sta bene. A che loanda ?
Paolo. All' Univelso.
Neri. Qua la mana.
Paolo. Ma abbada, 'un ti pensare
Di snocciola' lo scritto giù attravelso . . .
Voglio un Sonetto, ma che possi stare.
Neri. Vai tranquillo.
Paolo. O vediamo. E ecoti'r foglio.
Neri. Vado ?
Paolo. Vai, ma'un ti c'entra, ci scommetto.
Neri. Ora nun m'imbroglia', 'nsenno m'imbroglio.
Paolo. Che mangiata vo' fa' ! . . .
Neri. Zitto, t'ho detto ! . . .
Paolo. Brodo ar Cappone . . . Cee . . . Triglie di scoglio . . .
Neri. Quanto manca ?
Paolo. Un minuto.
Neri. Ecco'r Sonetto.[2]

Spain intervened once more in 1892[3] with the following example by Francisco Vila, who quotes one of Lope's lines :—

Un soneto ofrecí, mas que me emplumen
Si lo puedo cumplir . . . ! horrible aprieto !
Catorce versos dicen que es soneto,
Y ni uno brota en mi infeliz cacumen.

En vano invoco á mi adormido numen,
Que en los brazos del sueño está sujeto ;
Ya viene amenazándome un terceto,
Y sus renglones temo que me abrumen.

1. These will be found in the Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J., *Sonnets on the Sonnet : an Anthology* (London, 1898), on pp. 16, 4, and 9 respectively. I have not seen Adamson's and Collier's adaptations elsewhere, and unfortunately Father Russell furnishes no references.

2. *Poesie di Renato Fucini* (*Neri Tanfucio*). *Cento Sonetti in Vernacolo Pisano* (Firenze, 1876), p. 78.

3. Another English version by James Young Gibson had appeared in 1883, and is reprinted by M. Russell, op. cit., p. 5. It is too well known to call for reproduction here.

La luz, la sombra, el bosque, el mar, la aurora,
Recuerda en vano con afán inquieto
Buscando inspiración mi fantasía ;

Mas . . . no la quiero ya, vaya en mal hora,
Pues acabado miro este soneto,
Y era un soneto la promesa mía.[1]

Four years later there appeared another Spanish variant, professedly by the Bachiller Francisco de Osuna who is readily identified as Sr. D. Francisco Rodríguez Marín, Menéndez y Pelayo's successor at the Biblioteca Nacional :—

Calamo Currente

Si escribir te propones un soneto,
Vé haciendo lo que yo, que, á fe, no es harto ;
Tras el verso tercero saldrá el cuarto . . .
! Si es coser y cantar ! ¿ Ves ? Un cuarteto.
Haz otro igual después, que te prometo
Que si aquesto es parir, es fácil parto ;
Van seis versos y el séptimo ya ensarto.
Otro, y van ocho, y al primer terceto.
Todo es que el nono verso venga al baile
Y el décimo en la rueda esté metido.
¿ Hay consonante á *baile* y *fraile* ? Háile.
Pues entonces, ya es esto pan comido,
Y cata á Periquillo hecho fraile,
Y cata el sonetejo concluído.[2]

1. *La Ilustración Española y Americana* (Madrid, March 22, 1892), año XXXVI, núm. XI, p. 183.

2. *Primera Parte de las Flores de poetas ilustres de España ordenada por Pedro Espinosa natural de la ciudad de Antequera. Segunda edición, dirigida y anotada por D. Juan Quiros de los Ríos y D. Francisco Rodríguez Marín é impresa á expensas del Excmo. Sr. D. Manuel Pérez de Guzmán y Boza, Marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros* (Sevilla, 1896), p. 369. The printing of this volume was finished on April 18, 1896. Very shortly before this date Henri Meilhac produced a dainty toy of the same kind in the Mid-Lent number of *Au quartier latin* (Paris, 1896), p. 5.

Un sonnet, dites-vous ? Savez-vous bien, Madame,
Qu'il me faudra trouver trois rimes à sonnet ?
Madame, heureusement, rime avec âme et flamme,
Et le premier quatrain me semble assez complet.
J'entame le second : le second je l'entame
Et prends, en l'entamant, un air tout guilleret,
Car, ne m'étant encor point servi du mot âme,
Je compte m'en servir et m'en sers en effet.
Vous m'accorderez bien maintenant, j'imagine,
Qu'un sonnet sans amour ferait fort triste mine,
Qu'il aurait l'air boiteux, contrefait, mal tourné . . .
Il nous faut de l'amour, il nous en faut quand même ;
J'écris donc en tremblant : je vous aime ou je t'aime,
Et voilà, pour le coup, mon sonnet terminé.

Is this the last of the series? Not quite, for towards the end of 1909 Sr. Giménez Paseti rehandled the theme anew :—

¿ Componerte un soneto ? fácil cosa
pues consonantes encontrar espero,
uno al decirto que por ti me muero
y otro al llamarte del Edén la rosa.
Dos más al escribir que de una diosa
tienes el rostro lindo y hechicero,
y otros dos más tropiezo en el esmero
con que pisa tu planta primorosa.
Ya nuevos consonantes es preciso
buscar, que á los tercetos he llegado,
mas en mi inspiración ya los diviso
y al contemplar tu cuerpo nacarado
te llamo perla, hurí del paraiso,
y queda mi soneto terminado.[1]

More recent attempts have doubtless been made, but have escaped my notice. The specimens noted extend from the seventeenth—perhaps from the sixteenth—century to the twentieth, and it seems safe to surmise that other sonnets on a sonnet will be forthcoming in the future.

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1. *Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid, December 16, 1909).

COLERIDGE'S USE OF LIGHT AND COLOUR

Coleridge's poetry, and not less the extracts from his notebooks published under the title *Anima Poetae*, bear witness in abundance to the influence of light and colour on his mind. He observed appearances of light and colour as intently and accurately as a painter or a physicist. He could describe them with exquisite felicity, that spontaneous felicity which rarely failed him when his object, whether outward or inward, was clearly pictured or firmly grasped. And sometimes their emotional or imaginative significance is vaguely indicated or openly expressed in his description. References to light or colour abound in his minor poems, in some cases forming the only portion that holds the attention or remains in memory; and, as for the *Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel*, the individual effect of each, and the contrast between the two, depend in great measure on these poetic agencies. This dependence will be shown later, but I will first illustrate the statements just made from the other poems and from *Anima Poetae*.

I

The lines in *Dejection*:—

> gazing on the western sky
> And its peculiar tint of yellow green;

with the line,

> On that green light that lingers in the west,

have often been quoted, partly for their own sakes, and partly because they drew from Byron a criticism either foolishly petulant or wonderfully ignorant (Trelawny, *Recollections*, ch. iv). They show the accuracy of Coleridge's observation, and that contempt for merely generic epithets which he shared with Wordsworth; but they are not otherwise so markedly characteristic as many other passages,—as, for instance, this from *Remorse*, Act IV, Scene i, where Isidore, who has just lighted a torch in a dark cavern, remarks:—

> A lighted torch in the hand
> Is no unpleasant object here—one's breath
> Floats round the flame, and makes as many colours
> As the thin clouds that travel near the moon;

or this interpolation in the translation of the *Piccolomini*, Act II, Scene iv :—

and now
The narrowing line of daylight that ran after
The closing door was gone ;

or this from *Lewti :*—

I saw a cloud of palest hue,
Onward to the moon it passed ;
Still brighter and more bright it grew,
With floating colours not a few,
Till it reached the moon at last :
Then the cloud was wholly bright
With a rich and amber light :

or this from *Fears in Solitude :*—

but the dell,
Bathed by the mist, is fresh and delicate
As vernal corn-field, or the unripe flax,
When, through its half-transparent stalks, at eve,
The level sunshine glimmers with green light :

or this from the *Three Graves :*—

' The sun peeps through the close thick leaves,
See, dearest Ellen, see !
'Tis in the leaves, a little sun,
No bigger than your ee ;

A tiny sun, and it has got
A perfect glory too ;
Ten thousand threads and hairs of light
Make up a glory gay and bright
Round that small orb, so blue.'

And then they argued of those rays,
What colour they might be ;
Says this, ' They're mostly green ' ; says that,
' They're amber-like to me.'

or the conclusion of *Frost at Midnight :*—

Therefore all seasons shall be sweet to thee,
Whether the summer clothe the general earth
With greenness, or the redbreast sit and sing
Betwixt the tufts of snow on the bare branch
Of mossy apple-tree, while the nigh thatch
Smokes in the sun-thaw ; whether the eave-drops fall

Heard only in the trances of the blast,
Or if the secret ministry of frost
Shall hang them up in silent icicles,
Quietly shining to the quiet moon ;

or this passage, less familiar perhaps, from the *Picture* :—

Lo ! stealing through the canopy of firs,
How fair the sunshine spots that mossy rock,
Isle of the river, whose disparted waves
Dart off asunder with an angry sound,
How soon to re-unite ! And see ! they meet,
Each in the other lost and found ; and see
Placeless, as spirits, one soft water-sun
Throbbing within them, heart at once and eye !
With its soft neighbourhood of filmy clouds,
The stains and shadings of forgotten tears,
Dimness o'erswum with lustre !

or this from the lovely song of Glycine in *Zapolya*, Act II :—

A sunny shaft did I behold,
From sky to earth it slanted :
And poised therein a bird so bold—
Sweet bird, thou wert enchanted !

He sunk, he rose, he twinkled, he trolled
Within that shaft of sunny mist ;
His eyes of fire, his beak of gold,
All else of amethyst !

This collection of passages, as will be plain to anyone who remembers the *Ancient Mariner*, does not fully represent Coleridge's use of light and colour ; but it is highly characteristic and represents fairly a large number of other passages, mostly much inferior in poetic value. We observe in it at once his eager curiosity. Of this curiosity there are traces in Shelley too, but on the whole it is distinctive of Coleridge among the poets of his time. There is in it something of the man of science, but more of the child, delighted with a new, 'funny,' lovely thing, and loving it for its beauty ; and the 'childlike' spirit is an endearing quality in Coleridge, which never deserted him, and is signalized by himself in *A Tombless Epitaph* and excellently dwelt on in Professor Elton's chapter on the Coleridges. Next to this curiosity we notice in the quotations that light seems to be, to say the least, as fascinating to Coleridge as colour ; and this again might perhaps be said of Shelley,

but certainly of no other contemporary poet. Not only is this so, but it will be found also, I believe, that, except where he has a particular poetic effect in view, the colour that Coleridge describes is seldom vivid, rich, or deep ; it is rather, so to speak, colour where it is nearest to mere light or shade. The ' rivers of gold 'twixt crimson banks ' of *Fancy in Nubibus*, or the vivid apparitions of the *Ancient Mariner*, are not characteristic of what one may call the normal Coleridge : the stanzas quoted above from the *Three Graves* are so. This is a matter to which I shall return. Meanwhile I may add that the same tendency is illustrated by his fondness for moonlight. The predilection is not shown in its due prominence by our collection, but, to remind oneself of it, one need only recall *Christabel* and the one exquisite verse-passage in the *Wanderings of Cain*, and remember that the scene in *Love* is a moonlit scene, and the occasion of *Dejection* the sight of ' the new moon with the old moon in her arm.'

II

I will now transcribe from *Anima Poetae* a few passages out of some five and thirty which had seemed to me suitable for quotation. In the space of three pages (9-12) these three notes occur :—

Slanting pillars of misty light moved along under the sun hid by clouds . . .

Leaves of trees up-turned by the stirring wind in twilight—an image of paleness, wan affright . . .

The thin scattered rain-clouds were scudding along the sky ; above them, with a visible interspace, the crescent moon hung, and partook not of the motion ; her own hazy light filled up the concave, as if it had been painted and the colours had run.

These three notes belong to 1799 and 1800. The following, which come from pages 172 and 175, belong to 1806 and 1807 :—

As when the taper's white cone of flame is seen double, till the eye moving brings them into one space and then they become one—so did the idea in my imagination coadunate with your present form soon after I first gazed upon you . . .

Blue sky through the glimmering interspaces of the dark elms at twilight rendered a lovely deep yellow-green—all the rest a delicate blue.

I will not trouble the reader with remarks on these passages, but perhaps I may help him to realise the part that appearances of light and colour played in Coleridge's experience if I enumerate

and quote from the notes printed on pages 54 to 56. First comes this :—

> The soul within the body—can I, any way, compare this to the reflection of the fire seen through my window on the solid wall, seeming, of course, within the solid wall, as deep within as the distance of the fire from the wall? I fear I can make nothing of it;

and thereupon he leaves it, to speculate on the reason why he always hurries away from any interesting thought to do something uninteresting. Then comes this note :—

> As I was sitting at the foot of my bed, reading with my face downwards, I saw a phantom of my face upon the nightcap which lay just on the middle of my pillow—it was indistinct but of bright colours, and came only as my head bent low. Was it the action of the rays of my face upon my eyes? that is, did my eyes see my face, and from the sidelong and faint action of the rays place the image in that situation? But I moved the night-cap and I lost it;

just, one may add, as he lost the thought of the preceding note, and thousands of other more or less promising thoughts. The next begins :—

> I have only to shut my eyes to feel how ignorant I am whence these forms and coloured forms, and colours distinguishable beyond what I can distinguish, derive their birth;

and, after asking some questions which he cannot answer, he adds that these eye-spectra change with every voluntary bodily movement, 'as, for instance, if I press my legs or change sides' (presumably, in bed). The fourth note enshrines the resolution at least to make the attempt to explain to himself the origin of moral evil, by reference to a source with which light and colour do not seem to be concerned; but, in the fifth, he interrupts the consideration of this source in order to 'note the beautiful luminous shadow of my pencil-point which follows it from the candle, or rather goes before it and illuminates the word I am writing'; and in the sixth he describes the flame that he produced by lighting a composition of 'rolled bits of paper, many tiny bits of wick, some tallow, and the soap.' The experiment was no more fruitful than the thought about the soul within the body or the resolution to explain the origin of moral evil; for 'the whole flame, equal in size to half a dozen candles, did not give the light of one, and the letters of the book looked by the unsteady flare just as through tears or in dizziness,' —or, may one suggest, just as Schelling's ideas look in the philosophy of Coleridge?

III

I come lastly to the *Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel*. These two poems, it is obvious, have much in common, but they stand also in a sharp contrast which only heightens our sense of the 'marvellous power' of the poet. In the pace of the narrative, the number of its events, and its agitation or quietness; in the emotional tone of the impressions produced by it; and in the character of its supernatural atmosphere, they are utterly different. And while our memory of each is full of pictures, the light and colour of these pictures are, on the whole, diametrically opposed. This last contrast is our only subject here.

In the main, the colouring in the *Ancient Mariner* is brilliant and vivid, often fantastic, here and there even bizarre. It is the colouring of the green ocean; the emerald icebergs; the broad burning face of the sun; the bloody sun in a hot and copper sky; the western wave all aflame; the hundred fire-flags sheen; the lightning that falls in a river deep and wide; the sea that burns blue and green and white like a witch's oils; the still and awful red of the ship's shadow; the blue, glossy green, and velvet black of the water-snakes whose every track was a flash of golden fire; the crimson of the angelic shapes; the red lips and yellow locks of the nightmare Life-in-Death; and even when we leave the world of enchantment for that of common life the colour remains, and the bride who walks to the wedding feast is red as a rose. There is moonlight in the *Ancient Mariner;* who could forget it? But it is there chiefly to contrast with the baleful hues of the haunted voyage, intimating the presence of the spirit of peace and love, or lighting the bay and steeping in silentness the church weathercock of the mariner's native village.

In *Christabel* (I speak especially of the First Part) there is very little colour, and the light is almost everywhere subdued. The air, in Shelley's phrase, is 'woven out of moon-beams,' and they are not the beams that lit the bay. A thin grey cloud is spread on high, and though the moon is full, it looks small and dull. In its light Geraldine's silken robe, itself colourless, shines shadowy; and the gems entangled in her hair glitter wildly, but flash no tints. The light in the hall, as the flame flickers for a moment from the white ashes, shows no gorgeous hues of tapestries on the wall, it just glimmers on the boss of the shield in a murky niche. The carven work in Christabel's

chamber is faintly seen by the light of a silver lamp (not a golden one) which burns dead and dim. She trims it and it is bright, but it discloses no colour in the room. Geraldine had told her story already in the wood, but even in her story there was no colour: her palfrey was white and so were the steeds of her assailants. Now in the chamber her fair large eyes glitter bright, but their colour we must not know. Her dress slips to her feet, and Christabel sees a sight to dream of, not to tell. It is more terrible, we feel, than the face of Life-in-Death, but, unlike that face, it is left undescribed. When, in the story of the Second Part, Geraldine turns her serpent eyes on Christabel, they do not gaze or flash, they blink dull and shy. In the whole poem there is hardly a touch of colour beyond the green of the snake in Bracy's dream, the blue of Christabel's eyes, the green of the moss and mistletoe on the oak, and the red of its last leaf.[1]

In contrasting these wonderful poems in one particular respect I am far from suggesting a comparison of merit. As I read them Wordsworth's phrase 'the heaven-eyed creature' recurs to me, and Hazlitt's declaration that Coleridge was the only person he ever knew who answered to the idea of a man of genius (though Hazlitt knew Wordsworth and Keats and Shelley). But for the reasons already given I cannot but think that *Christabel* is the more totally and utterly Coleridgean of the two poems. The colours of the *Ancient Mariner* are imagined for a poetic purpose, and the purpose is achieved to perfection; but they are not the colours that Coleridge's eyes saw when they were shut, nor those that rose before his dreaming imagination when, as so often happened, it was left to do what it would.

A. C. BRADLEY

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1. And admiring, like every one, the lines about that leaf, I still feel a certain jar as I read them; the hidden reason of which is, I suppose, that one is seeing in imagination what Christabel saw with her eyes, and that by dim moonlight in a wood they might see the green of mistletoe on a low bough, but hardly the red of a leaf on the topmost twig.

ÜBER FRIEDRICH HEBBELS VERHÄLTNIS ZUR ALLGEMEINEN GESCHICHTE

Die deutsche Nationalliteratur hat seit der Zeit ihres Wiedererwachens im 18. Jahrhundert auf die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung kräftig eingewirkt, hat aber auch von ihrer Seite her reiche Anregungen empfangen; insbesondre waren es Fragen der allgemeinen Geschichte, an denen sich die Klassiker mit Vorliebe versuchten, und der Geist des Zeitalters brachte es mit sich, dass man dabei weniger auf die Tatsachen selbst und ihre unmittelbare, ursächliche Verknüpfung, als auf jene höheren Ideen achtete, die sich in dem geschichtlichen Ablauf überhaupt zu verwirklichen scheinen. Dass dabei *Rousseaus* geniale, aber auch ungeschichtlichsentimentale Betrachtungsweise nicht ganz allein den Ausschlag gab, dafür sorgte vor allem das Beispiel *Voltaires* und *Montesquieus*, wie auch die Anregungen, die von *England* kamen. Lehrten die Franzosen die Durchgeistigung des geschichtlichen Stoffes, der zugleich im weitesten, kulturgeschichtlichen Sinne aufgefasst wurde, so sahen die Engländer seit *Bolingbroke* in der Geschichtsschreibung selbst einen Hebel zur sittlichen Entwicklung der Menschheit. Schon *Leibniz* hatte seinen Grundsatz der allgemeinen Continuität auch auf die Geschichte ausgedehnt, die eben den steten Fortschritt der Menschheit zur geistigen Klarheit offenbaren sollte. Konkreter, aber auch ärmlicher stellen sich Wege und Ziele bei *Iselin* dar, nach dessen Anleitung *Wieland* philosophischgeschichtliche Vorlesungen zu Erfurt hielt. Auch *Lessing* wollte in seiner Schrift über *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* der Gegenwart das Vergangene als einen Spiegel vorhalten und hat mit seiner wahrhaft grossen Auffassung die Folgezeit beeinflusst, obwohl sein eigentliches Thema rein theologischer Natur war. Von der grössten Bedeutung für die Humanitätsperiode waren aber die geschichtlichen Schriften *J. G. Herders*. Mit einem feinen Ohr für ‘ die Stimmen der Völker in Liedern ’ begabt, ‘ horchte ’ er, nach Goethes schönem Worte, ‘ in die Welt ’ und hörte da wunderbare Töne, die sich zu einer grossen Harmonie zusammschlossen. Er verwarf den älteren, geschichtlichen Pragmatismus ebenso entschieden, wie die rationalistische Selbstüberhebung seiner Zeitgenossen; er wollte jedes Volk und jedes Zeitalter für sich betrachten und aus sich selber verstehen lernen; doch gingen bei ihm noch

absolute und relative Wertung durcheinander, wenn er auf der einen Seite eine Kulturerscheinung für so wertvoll erklärte wie die andre, um dann wieder einen allgemeinen Aufstieg der Menschheit zum höchsten Ziele, zum harmonischen Ausgleich aller inneren und äusseren Kräfte, mit einem Wort zur Humanität zu verkündigen. Streng trat ihm *Kant* gegenüber und wandte als erster in Deutschland einen aprioristischen Grundsatz auf den geschichtlichen Stoff an : Alle Naturanlagen in einem Geschöpf sind zu voller Entfaltung bestimmt, doch erreicht der Mensch die volle Menschlichkeit nie als Individuum, sondern nur als Gattung ; so strebt denn der ganze geschichtliche Verlauf nach der Verwirklichung einer bürgerlichen Idealgesellschaft, worin jeder einzelne seine Anlagen allseitig soll entwickeln können. Insbesondere hängt die *sittliche* Vollkommenheit nur ab und wird immer nur abhängen von der sittlichen Handlungsweise des Einzelnen ; dagegen vermag die äussere ' Legalität ' in weitem Umfange durch den historischen Prozess selbst verwirklicht oder doch gewährleistet zu werden. Diese teleologische Betrachtungsweise Kants hat dann stark auf *Schiller* eingewirkt, insbesondere, wo er sich mit den allgemeinsten Fragen der Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechtes beschäftigt, während seine *Geschichte des Abfalls der Niederlande* z. B. recht beachtenswerte Ansätze, wenn nicht zur Forschung im modernen Sinn, so doch zum ' geschichtlichen Denken ' zeigt.

Der Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts stellte die Deutschen mitten in grosse weltgeschichtliche Ereignisse hinein. Mit einer vorher kaum geahnten Kraft und Schnelligkeit entwickelte sich die scheinbar verträumte, seit dem 30 jährigen Kriege mannigfach gedrückte und ausgesogene Nation zu nationalem und politischem Empfinden, das freilich immer noch stark genug mit romantischen Gedankengängen versetzt war. Wenn die theologisch gerichtete Wissenschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts das Volk Israel, wenn der Klassizismus späterhin die Römer oder die Griechen als das Normalvolk angesehen hatten, an dem die in der Geschichte wirkende Gottheit ihre Gedanken vorzugsweise zur Ausführung bringt, wenn kosmopolitischer gesinnte Geister an die Stelle einzelner Völker die Menschheit hatten setzen wollen : jetzt wurde die *eigne* Nation zum Salz der Erde und zum Licht der Welt, zum Lieblingskinde der Gottheit, das einst ihren Willen in einem idealen Gemeinschaftsgebilde verwirklichen sollte. Aus dieser patriotischen Geschichtsphilosophie, wie sie *Fichte* und auf anderem Boden *Steffens* lehrten, blieben einem späteren, nüchterneren oder doch wissenschaftlich gründlicheren

Geschlecht die Schätzung der nationalen Kräfte und vor allem die Bewertung des *Staats* erhalten, die dann in *Hegel* ihren vollkommensten Vertreter finden sollte. Seine Wirksamkeit fällt aber schon in die trübe Zeit der Enttäuschung nach dem herrlichen Aufschwung der Freiheitskriege, in die Tage der Reaktion, wo die Blicke der Deutschen sich einmal wieder sehnsüchtig auf das Ausland richteten. Hegel hat, nach Windelbands Wort, die Deutschen zur Politik erzogen, wie Schleiermacher zur Religion. Seinem Einfluss komnten sich auch die drei grossen Dramatiker nicht entziehen, die um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts die scheinbar abgerissenen Fäden der geistigen Kultur des ' Deutschen Idealismus ' wieder aufnahmen und weiterspannen, und auf deren Schultern letzten Endes wieder diejenigen stehen, die in dem heutigen Deutschland den Kampf um einen geistigen Lebensinhalt führen. Es waren Otto *Ludwig*, Richard *Wagner* und vor allem *Friedrich Hebbel.*

Hebbel hat sich zwar in einem späteren Brief an Arnold Ruge gegen die Zumutung verwahrt, ein ' Hegelianer ' im eigentlichen Sinne zu sein :

> Ich habe oft lächeln können (sagt er) wenn eine gewisse Kritik, die Autonomie des menschlichen Geistes verkennend, und nicht ahnend, dass der allgemeine Gehalt der Menschheit jedem bevorzugten Individuum zugänglich sein und in ihm eine neue Form finden muss, in meiner Anschauung der Welt und der Dinge den Hegelianismus zu wittern glaubten. Was ich als Poesie ausschwitzen soll, muss ich, wenn's nicht mein eigen ist, doch erst als Philosophie eingenommen haben, und ich erinnere mich noch des Moments, wo ich die Hegelsche Logik und mit ihr den ganzen Hegel für immer aus der Hand legte, weil ich die Identität von Sein und Nichtsein absolut nicht begreifen konnte ; wer aber auf der Schwelle schon stolpert, wird die Geheimnisse des Hauses nicht entdecken. Vielmehr entzündete sich mein Talent an *der Geschichte* und daher rührt, dass allen meinen Dramen vom ersten bis zum letzten die sozialen Verhältnisse (freilich nicht im neufranzösischen Sinn) zu Grunde liegen, da sich mit dem historischen Blick das Klebenbleiben am einzelnen durchaus nicht verträgt, was der philosophische Standpunkt noch viel eher gestattet, sobald er abstrakt bleibt. (15 September 1852.)

Aber kein anderer als Hegel hatte ihm den ' historischen Blick ' aufgetan und sein inneres Verhältnis zu den Tatsachen und dem Gesamtverlauf der Geschichte dauernd bestimmt. Dazu bedurfte es nicht sowohl des Studiums von Hegels *Philosophie der Geschichte*, als der Einwirkung der geistigen Atmosphäre seiner Zeit, die mit Hegelschen Gedanken reichlich durchsetzt war. Hebbel ist frühzeitig von Hegels System abgerückt, vor allem weil dieser in der Kunst nicht mehr ' die

höchste Weise sehen konnte, in welcher die Wahrheit sich Existenz verschafft,' während Hebbel mit seiner Tragödie sich und seinem eigenen Geschlecht zum klaren Bewusstsein über seine historische Stellung verhelfen wollte. Aber, wo er gegen Hegel polemisiert, tut er es, wie Walzel bewiesen hat, mit den eignen Waffen des Philosophen, mit dem er überdies unausgesprochenermassen in einer Reihe wichtiger Grundüberzeugungen übereinstimmte.

Hebbels Beschäftigung mit der Geschichte ist aus jugendlichem Weltschmerz geboren, oder besser gesagt aus mannigfachen Versuchen des jungen Dichters, mit dem Leid des Lebens fertig zu werden. Er vermochte sich nicht, gleich den Romantikern, mit einem kühnen Schwunge über die Erfahrungswelt ins Absolute zu retten, aber er fand seinen Trost in dem Bewusstsein, mit seinem eignen Streben in einem grossen Weltzusammenhange zu stehen, und mit seinem Schicksal das allgemeine Los der Welt zu teilen: Die Geschichte erhebt jedes Besondere zum Allgemeinen und gibt dem Geiste damit eine freiere Stellung zu allem, was geschieht. Soviel stand ihm schon in seiner Münchner Studentenzeit fest,[1] und wenn er später einmal sagt, dass seit seinem 22. Jahre eigentlich keine neue Idee mehr in sich aufgenommen habe, so dürfte das auch von seinen geschichtlichen Grundanschauungen gelten. Tatsächlich hat Hebbel immer daran festgehalten, dass in der geschichtlichen Betrachtung die Menschheit sich ihrer selbst bewusst wird; in der Kette der Ereignisse ist jedes grosse Ereignis, jede grosse Persönlichkeit ein unentbehrlicher Glied; und die 'Geschichte ist die Kritik des Weltgeistes,'[2] sie 'sucht das Notwendige, oder besser, sie liefert den Beweis, dass alles notwendig sei.'[3] Für Hegel vollzieht sich der geschichtliche Prozess in dem Gegeneinanderstreben von Kräften, da denn aus These und Antithese eine neue Synthese sich ergibt, in der jeweils die alten Gegensätze 'aufgehoben' werden. Auf diese Weise schwingt sich in jeder grossen Weltepoche ein Volk zur Führerrolle empor, um nachher wieder zu versinken. Die Uebergänge von einer Periode zur andern aber werden durch hervorragende Persönlichkeiten herbeigeführt, die durch eine gewisse 'List der

1. Vergl. den neuerdings aufgefundenen, wichtigen Brief an Amalie Schoppe vom 16. März 1837: 'Nicht die Schmerzen sind es, die den Menschen erdrücken, sondern das Bewusstsein der armseligen Quellen dieser Schmerzen. Die Träne, die das Auge *verfinstert*, wenn sie einem Weh, das der Augenblick bringt und nimmt, geflossen, wird zum *Sonnenspiegel*, sobald sie das Geschick einer Welt beweint.'

2. *Tagebuch* (Ausgabe von R. M. Werner), N. 1530, von 1839.

3. Ebenda, Nr. 1911, von 1840.

Vernunft' zu Führern berufen werden. Niemand war stärker als Hegel davon überzeugt, dass 'Männer die Geschichte machen,' und seine Einleitung zur *Philosophie der Geschichte* singt den grossen Heldengestalten einem feierlichen Hymnus tragischen Gepräges :

Dies sind die grossen Menschen in der Geschichte, deren eigne partikuläre Zwecke das Substantielle enthalten, welches Willen des Weltgeistes ist, die aus sich zu schöpfen scheinen, und deren Taten einen Zustand und Weltverhältnisse hervorgebracht haben, welche nur *ihre* Sache und *ihr* Werk zu sein scheinen. Solche Individuen hatten in diesem ihrem Zweck nicht das Bewusstsein der Idee überhaupt, sondern sie waren praktische und politische Menschen. Aber zugleich waren sie Denkende, die die Einsicht hatten von dem, was Not und an der Zeit ist. Deshalb folgen die andern diesen Seelenführern, denn sie fühlen die unwiderstehliche Gewalt ihres eignen innersten Geistes, der ihnen entgegentritt. Werfen wir weiter einen Blick auf das Schicksal dieser welthistorischen Individuen, welche den Beruf hatten, die Geschäftsführer des Weltgeistes zu sein, so ist es kein glückliches gewesen. Zum ruhigen Genusse kamen sie nicht, ihr ganzes Leben war Arbeit und Mühe, ihre ganze Natur war nur ihre Leidenschaft. Ist der Zweck erreicht, so fallen sie, die leeren Hülsen des Kerns, ab. Sie sterben frühe wie Alexander, sie werden wie Cäsar ermordet, wie Napoleon nach St. Helena transportiert.[1]

Das ist gerade eine Auffassung des Helden, wie sie Hebbel brauchen konnte, dessen tragische Dichtung das Handeln und Leiden des grossen Menschen unter den Gesichtspunkt einer unentrinnbaren, geschichtlichen Notwendigkeit stellte. Für ihn ist jeder grosse Abschnitt der Geschichte und jeder grosse Mensch nur die Quadratwurzel eines grösseren, darum lebt die Menschheit nur für und durch ihre Geschichte, und darum macht selbst Shakespeare keine Ausnahme, denn er ward nur ein *grosser* Dramatiker, weil er ein grosser Geschichtskundiger war.[2] Der Held ist also zugleich Produkt und Faktor im Weltprozess. Aber :

die Gottheit selbst, wenn sie zur Erreichung grosser Zwecke auf ein Individuum unmittelbar einwirkt und sich dadurch einen willkürlichen Eingriff (setzen wir den Fall, so müssen wir die ihm korrespondierenden Ausdrücke gestatten) ins Weltgetriebe erlaubt, kann ihr Werkzeug vor der Zermalmung durch dasselbe Rad, das es einen Augenblick aufhält oder anders lenkt, nicht schützen.[3]

Das schien dem angehenden Dramatiker das vornehmste tragische Motiv in der Geschichte der Jungfrau von Orleans.

1. Vergl. Hegel, *Philosophie der Geschichte*, her. v. Brunstädt (Reclamsche Ausgabe), S. 70 ff.
2. *Tagebuch*, Nr. 747, von 1837.
3. Ebenda, Nr. 1011, von 1838.

Gleichzeitig machte er sich Gedanken über eine Napoleontragödie, die sich mit der tragischen Widerspiel der Kräfte getreulich auf das dramatische Verhältnis des Helden zu seiner Umgebung und seiner Zeit anwenden liess :

Napoleon könnte allerdings der Held einer echten Tragödie sein. Der Dichter müsste ihm alle die grossen, auf das Heil der Menschheit abzielenden Tendenzen, deren er auf St. Helena gedachte, unterlegen, ihn nur den Fehler begehen lassen, dass er sich die Kraft zutraut, alles durch sich selbst, durch seine eigne Person, ohne Mitwirkung, ja Mitwissen anderer ausführen zu können. Dieser Fehler wäre ganz in seiner grossen Individualität begründet und jedenfalls der Fehler eines Gottes ; dennoch aber wäre er, besonders aber in unserer Zeit, wo weniger der Einzelne als die Masse sich geltend macht, hinreichend, ihn zu stürzen.[1]

So stehen seine Grundanschauungen über das Verhältnis des geschichtlichen Helden zu seiner Umgebung und zu dem Absoluten frühzeitig fest ; immerhin findet sich in seinem bedeutsamen Erstling *Judith* (von 1840) noch ein weiterer Gedanke verwertet, der sich aus Hegels Geschichtsphilosophie nicht erklären lässt, auch späterhin bei Hebbel so nicht wiederkehrt. Schon in den Notizen zur *Jungfrau von Orleans*, woran Hebbel auch nach der Vollendung der *Judith* weiterarbeitete, findet sich ein bedeutsamer Satz :

Was der Behandlung als Drama sehr entgegentritt, ist der erbärmliche Charakter des Königs, um dessentwillen alles geschieht. Freilich stehen die Volksinteressen im Hintergrunde, aber als letztes Motiv, der König ist das nächste. Schiller scheint dies gar nicht gefühlt zu haben. Dass Frankreich selbständig bleiben, dass Gott ein *Wunder tun musste*, um dies zu veranlassen, dies war nötig, weil von Frankreich die Revolution ausgehen sollte.

Und auf ein Wunder ist auch die Fabel der Judith aufgebaut. Die Heldin ist durch die geheimnisvollen Vorgänge in der Brautnacht in einen seltsamen Zustand zwischen Frau und Jungfrau versetzt worden und fühlt sich durch diese Erlebnisse zu besonderen Taten und Schicksalen vorherbestimmt. Hegel würde einen solchen *unmittelbaren* Eingriff der Vernunft nicht billigen, und Hebbel selbst hat in seiner späteren Dichtung die lückenlose, psychologische Motivierung vorgezogen und das Wunderbare nur noch als Symbol für die Vorgänge im Unterbewusstsein des Menschen verwendet. Damals aber stand er noch unter dem Einfluss gewisser Anregungen Fichtes. Der gewaltige Verfasser der *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, der nichts mehr hasste, als eine Bemäntelung eigener Tatlosigkeit

1. Ebenda, Nr. 1012, von 1838.

mit religiösem Gefühlsüberschwang, hielt das Wunder wenigstens da für möglich, wo der *sittliche* Bestand in der Entwicklung des Einzelnen oder des Menschengeschlechts bedroht und durch kein andres Mittel zu retten ist.[1] Es braucht hier kaum gesagt zu werden, dass Hebbel in seinen späteren Meisterdramen jeden Eingriff in die innere Entwicklung seiner Helden unterlassen, aber die andre Gefahr nicht immer vermieden hat, seinen Figuren eine gar zu klare Einsicht in das Gewebe ihres Innenlebens und ihre geschichtliche Stellung zu verleihen. Gewisse Stellen des *Herodes* und des *Gyges* liefern den Beweis.

Mag sich aber Hebbel zu dem historischen Geschehen in verschiedenen Zeiten verschieden gestellt haben, der Wert der Geschichte selbst ist ihm niemals zweifelhaft geworden. Sie ist ihm ‘ das Bett, das der Strom der Geschichte sich selber gräbt,’[2] an ihn und an der Natur *hat er* das Leben soweit der Mensch, der Dichter es überhaupt erfassen kann, und, ‘ wer sich an Natur und Geschichte hält, wird durch seine Irrtümer noch nützen.’[3] Freilich, Irrtümer laufen mitunter, und früh genug wird sich Hebbel dessen bewusst, dass die Geschichte doch nur ein Surrogat des Lebens bleibt, wie es der Dichter eben braucht, weil er seine Reflexionen daran anknüpfen kann. Bei dem schroffen Dualismus, der das ganze Wesen des Dichters bezeichnet, kann es nicht wundernehmen, dass er diese Erkenntnis gelegentlich auch in möglichst krasser Form ausdrückt :

> Das Studium der Geschichte leistet nur geringen Ersatz für die Mannigfaltigkeit der Zustände ; es kann höchstens (zur Qual des Menschen) inneres Leben entwickeln, und es ist wahrlich noch die Frage, ob es ein reines inneres Leben d.h. ein bewusstes, denn das unbewusste ist doch nicht sowohl Leben als Lebensnahrung, giebt.[4]

Solche augenblickliche Stimmungsergüsse kommen aber nicht in Betracht der Tatsache gegenüber, dass Hebbel immer wieder in der Geschichte und besonders in Uebergangszeiten der allgemeinen Kulturentwicklung seine dramatische Probleme suchte, und dass er mit seinem Schaffen an seinem Teile die für die Entwicklung notwendigen Triebkräfte bei seinen Mitmenschen zu erwecken hoffte.

Schon 1839[5] stellte er für die *Kunst* überhaupt das ‘ erste und

1. Vergl. über die Beziehungen Hebbels zu Fichte die betr. Abschnitte in Ernst Lahnsteins Buch : *Hebbels Jugenddramen und ihre Probleme.*
2. *Tagebuch*, Nr. 1822, von 1839.
3. Vergl., *Tagebuch*, Nr. 957, von 1838.
4. Vergl., *Tagebuch*, Nr. 1321, von 1838.
5. *Tagebuch*, Nr. 1471.

letzte Ziel auf, den *Lebensprozess* selbst anschaulich zu machen' ; vier Jahre später, als er zum ersten Mal vor der breiteren Oeffentlichkeit, ganz in den Denkbahnen und mit den Beweismitteln der Hegelschen Philosophie sein *Wort über das Drama* sprach, wies er der *dramatischen* Gattung insbesondre die gleiche Aufgabe zu. Einflüsse von *Schelling* und von *Solger* her gaben, wie ich anderwärts gezeigt habe, den metaphysischen Rahmen für sein dramatisches Weltbild her. Danach zeigt das Drama :

Das bedenkliche Verhältnis, worin das aus dem ursprünglichen Nexus entlassene Individuum dem Ganzen, dessen Teil es trotz seiner unbegreiflichen Freiheit noch immer geblieben ist, gegenübersteht.

So ist das Drama ans *Seiende* verwiesen, um die ewige Wahrheit zu wiederholen :

Dass das Leben als *Vereinzelung*, die nicht Mass zu halten weiss, die Schuld nicht bloss zufällig erzeugt, sondern sie notwendig und wesentlich mit einschliesst und bedingt

. . . eine Schuld, die nicht den anekdotischen Character der Verfehlung gegen ein bestimmtes Gesetz trägt, nicht aus der Richtung des menschlichen Willens entspringt, sondern aus diesem Willen selbst, der eben sich selber will, wo immer er erscheinen mag ; und so (und nur so) weist den Dichter seine Aufgabe zugleich an :

Das *Werdende*, indem er an immer neuen Stoffen, wie die wandelnde Zeit und ihr Niederschlag, die Geschichte, sie ihm entgegenbringt, darzutun hat, dass der Mensch, wie die Dinge um ihn her sich auch verändern mögen, *seiner Natur und seinem Geschick nach ewig derselbe bleibt*.[1]

Von hier aus lernen wir den Dichter richtig verstehen, wenn er ein Jahr später im Vorwort zu seiner *Maria Magdalene* sagt :

Das Drama, als die Spitze aller Kunst soll den jedesmaligen Welt- und Menschenzustand in seinem Verhältnis zur Idee d.h. zu dem alles bedingenden sittlichen Zentrum, das wir im Weltorganismus, schon seiner Selbsterhaltung wegen, annehmen müssen, veranschaulichen.[2]

Die Welt- und Menschenzustände wechseln also, und mit ihnen die Formen der Tragödie ; aber das Menschenherz bleibt sich immer gleich und die einzelnen Zeitalter als solche kommen der Idee selbst nicht näher und rücken nicht ferner von ihr ab : das aus seinem ursprünglichen ' Nexus ' entlassene Individuum steht in einer Gottentfremdung, der es nur durch die freiwillige Darangabe des eigenen Willens steuern kann. Wo die Menschen

1. Vergl. Hebbels *Werke*, her. von Werner, Bd. XI, S. 3 f.
2. Ebenda, S. 40.

hierzu reif werden, da strahlt wohl auf einen Augenblick das Absolute ins Menschenleben herein, und in den Dramen seiner zweiten Periode, seiner Meisterjahre, hat der Dichter gern solchen Ausblick eröffnet: Die Verkündigung des neugeborenen Königs der Juden am Schlusse von *Herodes und Mariamne* deutet wohl auf ein 'drittes Reich' im Sinne der Joachimitischen Weissagungen des Mittelalters, der romantischen und jungdeutschen Träumereien der neueren Zeit; auf eine ferne Endzeit, wo die Aufopferung, die Herodes fordert, mit der Verherrlichung der Würde der Persönlichkeit, die Mariamne für sich verlangt, in eins verschmelzen werden: in der Welt aber, wie sie ist, kann solche Verschmelzung immer nur auf Augenblicke, durch schwere Kämpfe oder auf dem Wege der Ahnung erreicht werden. Wohl werden einmal Zeiten kommen, wo die Missheirat eines Fürsten nicht mehr, wie in *Agnes Bernauer*, den Tod eines unschuldigen Weibes zur Folge hat, wo Kronen, rostige Schwerter und Schleier sich nicht mehr wie im *Gyges* an ihrem Verächter rächen und ihn mit sich in die Tiefe ziehen — aber nie wird die Welt bestehen können, ohne dass das Individuum sich für die Gesamtheit aufopfern muss, und nie wird eine Zeit kommen, da man ohne symbolische Behelfe das Ewige im Zeitlichen ahnen könnte. Ein einzelner Mann wie König Dietrich von Bern in den *Nibelungen*, der nach einem Heldenleben von unerhörtem Glanze sein Schwert demütig vor dem Hunnen Etzel gesenkt hat, um ihm freiwillig zu dienen, darf wohl 'im Namen dessen, der am Kreuz erblich' die blutbefleckte Krone auf sein Haupt setzen, um Mannesmut und Dienstbarkeit zu vereinen — der Menschheit als Ganzem ist damit nicht mehr gegeben als ein neuer Hinweis auf das Ideal, das doch immer nur der Einzelne für sich erringen kann. Innerhalb der empirischen Geschichte der Menschheit, so ist Hebbels Glaubensbekenntnis, gibt es keinen Fortschritt. Hier scheiden sich denn auch allmählich seine Wege von denjenigen Herders und Hegels, um den reifen Dichter wieder zu Kant zurückzuführen.[1] Was ihn an der 'Humanitätsidee' zurückstösst, ist eben der Gedanke einer Entwicklung des geschichtlich gegebenen Menschengeschlechts selber, das doch aus lauter vergänglichen Individuen besteht[2]; gibt man die Idee der in der Geschichte wirkenden Gottheit zu und hält daneben an jener optimistischen Beurteilung der Weltgeschichte fest, so endet man eben notwendig bei dem Gedanken von der 'Realisierung der Idee,

1. *Tagebuch*, Nr. 4112, von 1847: 'in Kant einen herrlichen Aufsatz, Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte, gelesen und daraus nicht ohne einige Satisfaktion gesehen, dass er über die materielle Geschichte ebenso dachte wie ich.'

2. *Tagebuch*, Nr. 2752, von 1843.

von einem Fortschreiten des Weltgeistes im Bewusstsein seiner selbst durch die irdischen Vollkommenheiten in Ereignissen und Characteren,' womit man ein unendlich Grosses auf ein unendlich Kleines bezieht und es sogar davon abhängig macht. Das widerstreitet Hebbels Ehrfurcht vor dem Unerforschlichen, und so gesteht er, sich an den Herder-Hegelschen Konstruktionen des sogenannten welthistorischen Prozesses ' gründlich den Magen verdorben ' zu haben.[1]

Hebbels dualistischer Anlage entspricht eine polaristisch-dynamistische Auffassung alles Geschehens in der Natur wie in der Geschichte ; aber er bleibt bei dem ' ewigen Wechsel ' und bei der ' Dauer im Wechsel ' stehen, ohne zu dem Gedanken des Aufstiegs im Wechsel fortzuschreiten, wie ihn Goethe vertrat. Für Hebbel ist alle ' Bewegung der Geschichte weniger eine Vermittlung der Extreme als eine allmähliche Wandlung von einem Extrem zum andern.'[2] Wohl erkannte er eine dem Geschichtsverlauf *zu Grunde* liegende ' höchste Idee ' an,[3] aber er bestreitet ihre Verwirklichung *in* dem und *durch* den historischen Prozess. Wohl soll die Welt einmal eine Form erlangen, die dem entspricht, was die edelsten des Geschlechts denken und fühlen,[4] aber ' auch dann werden Bestien und Teufel nicht verschwinden, sie werden nur gebunden werden.'

Was uns daran modern anmutet, ist die relativistische Auffassung aller geschichtlichen Zustände ; dagegen können wir nicht mit Hebbel gehen, wenn er die Wirklichkeit an einem immerhin durch Konstruktion gewonnenen und dogmatisch festgelegten Ideale misst. Zum Glück ist davon in seinen Dramen weniger zu verspüren wie von jener hohen Bewertung der sittlichen Persönlichkeit, die der Dichter als köstliches Gut von der klassischen Periode übernommen und mit reiner Hand einem späteren Geschlecht überliefert hat ; die neue Zeit musste erst jene materialistischen Folgerungen überwinden, die Marx aus Hegels Grundlehren gezogen hatte, um den heroischen Verzicht unsers Dichters auf jeden faulen Geschichts-optimismus voll zu würdigen.[5]

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Liverpool

1. Ebenda, Nr. 3914, von 1847.
2. Ebenda, Nr. 2732, von 1843.
3. *Werke*, Band XI, S. 13.
4. *Tagebuch*, Nr. 3751, von 12.
5. Ich musste in dieser kurzen Skizze auf eingehendere Erörterungen verzichten. Benutzt habe ich besonders : Walzel, *Hebbelprobleme* (1909) ; Dosenheimer, *Hebbels Auffassung vom Staat* (1912), und Sickel, *Hebbels Welt- und Lebensanschauung* (1912).

CLASS DIALECT AND STANDARD ENGLISH

In the accounts given by the orthoëpists of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, of the pronunciation of English sounds, there appear to be certain disagreements and inconsistencies. Some of these differences suggest the existence, at one and the same time, of several types of pronunciation for the same original sound. These types may be the starting-point of very different developments in present-day English. Thus *flood*, *book*, *moon*, all go back, as regards their vowel sounds, to the same original O.E. *ō*,—*flōd*, *bōc*, *mōna* respectively. But the three words in Modern English have three quite distinct sounds, and this difference can be traced at least as far back as the sixteenth century when the three words were pronounced [flud, būk, mūn]. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we can prove, on the authority of the orthoëpists, the pronunciations [flad, bŭk, mūn]. We may assume, unless some better explanation is given, that the original O.E. *ō*, which became [ū] in Early Modern, retained this sound in some dialects, but in others shortened it, at least as early as the sixteenth century. The present-day sound in *flood* can only be derived from a sixteenth century form [flŭd], while the present-day sound in *book* must have been [ū] in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, since, during that century, the short [ŭ] sound became [a]. In present-day Standard English then, the words which in O.E. had *ō*, occur in types derived from two or three different dialects.

On the other hand, some of the varieties observable in Early Modern English may merely represent different rates of change, though in the same direction, among different groups of speakers. Thus, in the seventeenth century, we find the vowel in *name* described by different writers, as [*ā*, ǣ, ē]. Such differences as these and many others are explained by Luick, *Anglia*, XVII, p. 378, and *Untersuchungen z. engl. Lautgesch.*, p. 313, and Horn, *Hist. neuengl. Gr.*, p. 20, by the general principle of the influence on Standard English of other dialects. Against this view, Jespersen, Preface of *Mod. Engl. Gr.*, p. 6, appears to deny dialectal influence in the history of Standard English—' I believe its development has been in the main independent of dialectal changes.' He is, therefore, obliged to seek other explanations to account for the forms of those words in Standard English

which Luick, Horn, and others would attribute to dialectal influence.

A new departure is made by Dr. R. E. Zachrisson in *The Pronunciation of English Vowels, 1400-1700,* who disputes the existence of more than one type of pronunciation at the same time in Early Modern, and argues that the writers, of the same period, in spite of apparent differences, are really all attempting to describe the same sound, but that they are sometimes misled by the spelling, and the traditional values of letters, and describe an ideal and non-existent pronunciation; besides which, a later writer often copies his account from earlier authorities and adopts their errors. I cannot here discuss the views propounded by Zachrisson, beyond saying that while he has done good service in showing that we must not take all the vagaries of the orthoëpists too seriously, nevertheless, in spite of the great amount of evidence which he marshals, and his ability in handling it, my conviction that different types of pronunciation actually have existed, from the Early Modern Period onwards, remains unshaken.

In the following pages, therefore, I assume the plurality of types of pronunciation in English, vouched for by writers on the subject since the sixteenth century, to be a reality, then as now. I am concerned mainly with the development of Standard Spoken English.

We have in English two kinds of dialects, one kind which may be called *Regional Dialects*, that is those forms of speech associated with certain geographical areas—Somerset, Kent, Yorkshire, and so on; and the other which may be called *Class Dialects*. Of the latter what is commonly known as *Standard English* is the chief, in fact it is by far the most important type of English speech. It is to the various *Regional Dialects* that Luick and Horn mainly appeal, and I think, often rightly appeal, to explain certain difficulties in the development of Literary and Standard English. They assert, and it can hardly be denied, that numerous forms, peculiar to this or that *Regional Dialect*, have passed into the Standard speech, and become the permanent and sole form in this type of English.

My present object is to urge that it is not enough to appeal to the *Regional Dialects*, but that in considering the history of English, we must also take the influence of the *Class Dialects* into account.

A few words are necessary on the relation of *Standard English*

to the other *Class Dialects*. It is commonly agreed that the basis of the Standard Literary and Spoken dialect of English, which rose into prominence during the fourteenth century, was the speech of London, itself a very mixed dialect; that this slowly but surely became the sole form of English used for literary purposes, and that the spoken form of the London dialect, more particularly that form of it in use among the upper and governing classes, at the Court, and in official circles, came to be recognised as the best type, in fact the *Standard*, of Spoken English. This standard has, during the last three centuries, been carried far and wide throughout the country, and has very largely displaced the original *Regional Dialects*. The diffusion of what was once the official and Court dialect of London has not been merely geographical, but social as well. That is to say that it has become the speech not of the upper and ruling classes alone, but has worked downwards in the social scale, to the middle classes and below them, until at the present time, all classes of the community, in large towns, have abandoned the original local or *Regional Dialect* and adopted a form of Standard English. Now a dialect which is disseminated throughout all classes, and all provinces, cannot long remain undifferentiated and homogeneous. The result is that there have arisen a considerable number of different types of Standard English, spoken among different social grades. The factors of *Social Isolation*, which separate class from class, are hardly less powerful in producing dialectal variants, than those of *Geographical Isolation* which are associated with *Regional Dialects*. We get, therefore, what may be called *Standard English proper*, which is spoken with remarkable uniformity, among the upper classes, all over the country; and, by the side of this, innumerable other *Class Dialects*, or variants of it. In large cities, like London or Liverpool, we find several forms of English spoken at the same time, associated with the different social divisions of the population. These forms are neither Standard proper, nor yet the local dialect pure and simple, but merely Class Dialects of Standard, more or less modified by the original *Regional Dialect*, which has long since ceased to be spoken in these cities. It is convenient to distinguish between what has here been called *Standard English proper*, and the various class variants of it which exist. In *Modern Language Teaching* for December, 1913, I proposed the term *Received Standard* for the former, and *Modified Standard* for the other class dialects which have been differentiated from it.

These terms will be used in the above sense during the present article. Quite roughly, we may say that *Received Standard* is upper class English, and that the various *Modified Standards* represent middle class English. It is characteristic of the former that it is practically uniform all over the country, and is to all intents and purposes unaffected by the local dialects of the different provinces, whereas *Modified Standard* varies from centre to centre, from class to class, so that several forms of it often exist in a single large town or city.

In the article just referred to, I suggested that the Public School system was responsible for the existence of the practically unvarying character of that type of speech which it is proposed to call *Received Standard*. I cannot further discuss this question here.

When we say that *Received Standard* is unvarying, this does not mean that it does not change from age to age, nor that its actual elements are not in course of time, disarranged, and displaced by others which come into it from other types of speech. This brings us to the heart of the question. I wish to argue that these new elements, which from time to time gain currency in *Received Standard*, come, in many cases, not from *Regional Dialects*, though these have hitherto been held almost solely responsible, but from the various forms of *Modified Standard*, that is from the other *Class Dialects*.

The social upheavals occasioned by the Civil War and the Commonwealth in the seventeenth century, as Luick well points out, brought into political and social prominence many persons from the lower classes of society. My contention is that these new men did not all speak pure *Regional Dialects*, but, in many cases, merely Class variants of Standard English. I think, therefore, that the variants which Luick finds in seventeenth century English are in many instances very probably due to the influence of *Class Dialect*. These forms from *Modified Standard* not infrequently gained a permanent footing, and while they were at first felt to be provincialisms, or Vulgarisms, they finally became part and parcel of *Received Standard*, displacing the previously accepted forms. It is possible that much of what has hitherto been supposed to represent old-fashioned pronunciations on the one hand, or new developments on the other, in the accounts given by seventeenth century writers, may in reality be of this origin, and that one writer is insisting upon the *Received Standard* in which he was brought up, while another is acquiescing in

the new habit of pronunciation brought in from some form of *Modified Standard*.

Coming nearer to our own day, it is easy to find pronunciations which were fashionable, or at least still lingered, within the memory of our own grandfathers, that have now passed utterly away. I do not refer to gradual sound changes, but to cases where one type has been abandoned, and a totally different one substituted for it. I need only refer to the disappearance of [gūld, tʃēni, tē, oblīdž, kwæliti, kwæntiti, ɛdəd, lanən, lēlok, havl, lænskip, ospitəl, ās, ambl, nēbrud],[1] and so on. The last six of these pronunciations I have heard from very old people, who undoubtedly spoke the *Received Standard* of their day. The first two, so I have been told, existed in the pronunciation of my own grandmother (born about 1780); [kwæliti] and [kwæntiti], I have been told by a lady now over eighty, were used when she was quite a small child, by a great-aunt of hers, who considered [kwoliti, kwontiti] as vulgarisms. I do not see how these substitutions of one type for another can be explained as due to the influence of *Regional Dialects*. It appears certain that they are from a *Modified Standard* dialect, and probable that they were in origin middle class attempts at refinement, based, of course, on the spelling in most cases.

Nor is it difficult to suggest reasons why, during the nineteenth century, the speech of the upper classes should have been influenced from below. The social changes wrought by the wonderful development of industries which followed upon the application of steam to manufactures, and the invention of new machines for weaving and spinning, were surely no less remarkable than those effected by the political events of the seventeenth century. Fortunes were rapidly made, and in a few years hundreds, perhaps thousands, of families, enormously enriched, passed from a humble station into the ranks of the squirearchy, and not a few of them into those of the peerage. These families were, in the main, from the North and Midlands, and their speech must originally have been, to a great extent, that of the middle classes from which they sprang, the various Provincial forms of *Modified Standard*. Doubtless, on the whole, the new arrivals among the aristocracy would acquire the speech of their strange environment, so far as this was possible, and their children would possess it absolutely; but is it possible for social transfusion, on a large scale, to take place, without

1. For *gold, china, tea, oblige, quality, quantity, Edward, London, lilac, hovel, landscape, hospital, herb, humble, neighbourhood*.

the speech and manners of those into whose ranks the new comers pass being also affected? We cannot think so, and it seems inevitable that the *Received Standard* of the eighteenth century, should have been greatly modified during the next century, by the flood of speakers who now acquired it, on the top of their native Class Dialects.

By the side of the isolated words just enumerated and rather later, the last century has seen other changes in pronunciation which involve whole groups of words. Here again we have the displacement of one type by another, and again there can be little doubt that the new type is due to the influence of middle class English. I select three groups of words, concerning which an authority so recent as Walker (*Rhetorical Gr.*, 1801) makes categorical statements with regard to their pronunciation among 'our politest speakers.'

1. *Present Participles and words of two syllables ending in* -ing.

Walker says that the best speakers of his day never pronounced [-iŋ] but always [in] when the word itself contained the syllable [iŋ] *ing*—thus, *singin'*, *flingin'*, *swingin'*. With regard to other words like *speaking*, *reading*, *writing*, etc., he merely says 'What a trifling omission is *g* after *n*. But trifling as it is it savours too much of vulgarity to omit *g* in any words except those like *fling*, etc.' He rather takes the edge off his mild censure when he goes on to remark that *writing*, *reading*, etc., '*are certainly preferable*' to *writin'*, etc., wherever the language has the least degree of solemnity, and more particularly when speaking in public. I gather from this that Walker quite recognised that all his contemporaries normally used the *-in'* forms, but felt bound as an authority on pronunciation to utter a gentle protest.

The process of restoring the [ŋ] sound seems to have begun during the twenties or thirties of the nineteenth century. (See my *Evolution in English Pronunciation*, p. 21). It was a middle class refinement, and is by no means completely accepted yet. Still on the whole, a very large number of undoubted speakers of *Received Standard* now use the *-ing* forms instead of *puddin'*, *shillin'*, *ridin'*, etc.

2. *Words which in early nineteenth century were pronounced with* [gj-, kj-].

Walker gives a list of words like *garden*, *girl*, *cart*, *carriage*, *sky*, etc., which had 'an elegant sound' [j], or, as he says,

e or *y*, between the initial consonant and the following vowel—[gjā(r)dən, gjɛl, kjā(r)t, kjæridž, skja*i*], etc., which he writes *gearden*, etc. *Car*, *card*, *girl*, etc., *can* be pronounced without this sound, says Walker—'yet with it they are not merely more mellow and fluent, but infinitely more elegant and fashionable.' I may say that as a boy I heard these pronunciations from an old lady, who was born about 1804.

Is the disappearance of this type due to the influence of some *Regional Dialect*, or to that of a purely Class Dialect ?

3. *Words which formerly had* [*dž*] *between vowels, but now* [*di*, *dj*].

Educate, *odious*, *insidious*, *indian*, now pronounced [edjukeit, oudiəs, insidiəs, indiən] were in Walker's day pronounced, and with his full approval, [edžukeit, ōdžiəs, insidžiəs, indžiən], or, as Walker expresses it, *edjucate*, *o-je-us*, *insid-je-us*, *In-je-an*. The spelling has now prevailed in these words, and the old traditional, normal forms have vanished from polite speech, and would be thought very careless and shipshod. I have heard the old pronunciation, however, from very good speakers, born in the twenties of the last century.

Passing to our own time, we may recognise various quite recent changes of habit in pronunciation, some of which are still in the limbo of *Modified Standard*, though they may be occasionally heard in the speech of persons who, apart from these eccentricities, speak *Received Standard*.

As examples may be mentioned [ōftn, fōhɛd, weistkout, weinskout, hjūmə, hjūmərəs] *often*, *forehead*, *waistcoat*, *wainscoat*, *humour*, *humorous*, instead of [ōfn, forid, weskət, wɛnskət, jūmə, jūmərəs]. Of these, the new forms of the last four words are gaining ground among speakers of *Received Standard*, though probably most of those who are over forty still use the old-fashioned traditional forms. On the other hand, [fōhɛd] is still felt as a bad vulgarism, and [ōftn, oftn] is not much better, though some few speakers of *Received Standard* use this type.

It is evident that further inroads will be made in the near future into *Received Standard* by forms from *Modified Standard*. If we wish to explain the recent influence exerted from below, in terms of social developments, we may adduce two factors : the rapid growth of wealth among a large number of persons of very humble antecedents, during the last twenty years, by the means of the South African gold and diamond mines ; and secondly, the popularisation and cheapening of education in schools, and in the new Universities. It is a matter of very recent history that, during the nineties, many individuals were

borne upon a stream of South African gold, in the course of a few years, from the humblest quarters of the London Jewry to Park Lane, and to all that this means in social influence and prestige. Given the fact that at the present day, in this country, wealth breaks down all social barriers, it is surprising that *Received Standard* has not been more deeply influenced by the speech of the lower forms of Class Dialect than is actually the case. Possibly the speech of the brand-new South African millionaires was so remote from *Received Standard* that the latter could not assimilate many of its peculiarities.

The rise of the new Universities is undoubtedly a fresh factor in breaking down class barriers. Highly-trained young scholars and scientific investigators, whose speech is a form of *Modified Standard*, are rapidly increasing in number ; the abilities and achievements of these men procure them places of responsibility in the schools and colleges of the country, and a consequent change of social environment. All of these social developments bring about occasions for a mingling of Class Dialects.

Before concluding, lest it should be thought that an exaggerated view is here taken of the differences which exist between *Received* and *Modified Standard* English, I should like, in the brief space at my disposal, to call attention to the linguistic conditions now existing in a single large area, that of London. Here we find both *Received* and *Modified Standard* side by side.

The first point I wish to emphasize is that in London, without going below the educated middle classes, we may find the most surprising departures from *Received Standard*. The second is that within the London area, new *Regional Dialects* are springing up, being forms of Class Dialect, variously differentiated in widely separated districts and suburbs.

In illustration of the first point, I instance the following *General Tendencies*, utterly foreign to *Received Standard*, all of which I have noted among highly educated London speakers.

A. General Tendencies of London Speech

1. *Treatment of* [ū] *as in boot, moon, etc.*

(*a*) Among some speakers in place of the *high-back-tense-round*, we get a very advanced form of this, approaching that of French *ou* in *sou*, etc.

(*b*) Among others, there is a tendency to diphthongise the sound to [əu].

2. *Treatment of Final l.*

(*a*) Some speakers nasalise final *l* in *bell* to [bɛl̃].

(*b*) Others labialise and weaken final *l* to [u] or [w] so that [bɛl] becomes [bɛ^{w}] or [bɛu].

3. *Development of front glide after sh* [ʃ].

This takes place chiefly before back vowels; so that *shoot*, *sharp*, etc., become [ʃiūt, ʃiāp] instead of [ʃūt, ʃāp].

4. *Diphthonging of final* [ī].

This tendency is very marked; some speakers have a full-blown diphthong [əi] in *see*, *tea*, *bee*, etc. The diphthong is less distinct when a consonant follows in the same syllable, though still audible.

Of isolated spelling pronunciations which are coming in among young educated Londoners I instance [pæl mæl, bromli, bromtən] for *Pall Mall*, *Bromley*, *Brompton*, which I have never heard till recently among educated persons at all, instead of [pɛl mɛl, bramli, bramtən].

B. New Regional Differentiation in London Modified Standard

As regards the rise of new *Regional Dialects*, the twofold development noted above in 1 and 2 are possibly examples of this. The fact, however, is established by the statement of a highly educated young Londoner who has been trained in philological method, that when he was a boy at Dulwich College, a school frequented almost exclusively by Londoners, he was aware of varieties of pronunciation among his schoolfellows according to the district or suburb in which they lived. This is a very interesting point which requires investigation.

In conclusion, although I have only had space here to touch the fringes of the subject, I hope that my remarks may have helped to establish the view that the importance of *Class Dialects* is no less than that of *Regional Dialects*, in considering the history of English, at any rate during the last three or four centuries, and perhaps much further back. Further, I trust that enough has been said, or hinted at, to show that *Class Dialects*, or the various forms of *Modified Standard*, provide a rich field for future research. It is a field which is at present quite unworked.

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IDEAL NUMBERS IN THE RATIONAL FIELD

The extension of the theory of numbers in the nineteenth century will always furnish an interesting chapter in the history of mathematical thought. Early in the century Gauss published the *Disquisitiones arithmeticae*, in which, by the introduction of a symbol, he rendered possible, perhaps inevitable, the course of development of the subject in the following hundred years. The symbol ($\equiv$) is the symbol of congruence and plays in modern arithmetic the part which the symbol of equality has played in the development of algebra. But besides this, Gauss extended our conception of number by the introduction of the complex integer and established by his investigations in higher reciprocity theorems the necessity of its use.

The complex integer did not remain alone in the theory; Gauss himself explored other fields of number which depend upon the roots of unity of a degree higher than the second. In the field of numbers, which depend upon the twenty-third root of unity, it was found that the theorem of unique resolution into prime factors did not hold good. The theory of such numbers thus lacked one of the corner stones of the theory of natural numbers. To remedy this defect, Kümmer, with profound insight, introduced a new kind of numbers called by him ideal numbers.

The theory was advanced further by the study of algebraic numbers and by Dedekind's brilliant formulation of ideal numbers in their widest meaning, an achievement which rendered the application of ideals possible in all fields of algebraic numbers. This conception renders it possible, too, to reconstruct our views of the simplest field of integers, and it is my purpose here briefly to give an account of the theory of ideals in the rational field.

Considering only rational integers and denoting them by the letters $a, b, c, \ldots$ the solution of the congruence

$$x \equiv 0 \pmod{a}$$

is a class of numbers which is defined as the ideal $\mathfrak{a}$; excluding zero, which has no place in the theory, it may be said that in the rational field the ideal is the class of multiples of a given integer. The definition thus involves effectively only one

number a, thus, $\mathfrak{a} = [a]$; but the ideal may also be defined by reference to two numbers of the class whose highest common factor is a, thus, $\mathfrak{a} = [ma, na]$, where m and n are relatively prime. The identity of the two definitions is proved by the following considerations.

The ideal $[a]$ denotes the class ax, when x is an integer, positive or negative; while $[ma, na]$ denotes the class $may + naz$, where y, z are integers. Now by Euclid's algorithm, proved in the seventh book of the elements, integers y' and z' can be chosen so that

$$my' + nz' = 1$$

since m, n are relatively prime. Hence if $y = xy'$, $z = xz'$

$$may + naz = ax,$$

that is, every number of the class denoted by $[a]$ occurs in the class denoted by $[ma, na]$. Obviously every number of $[ma, na]$ occurs in $[a]$; the two expressions of the ideal are consequently identical.

Again, if $\mathfrak{a}$, $\mathfrak{b}$, $\mathfrak{c}$ are three ideals such that

$$\mathfrak{ab} = \mathfrak{c},$$

$\mathfrak{c}$ is said to be divisible by $\mathfrak{a}$ and by $\mathfrak{b}$. It is clear that every number of the class $\mathfrak{c}$ is in both of the ideals $\mathfrak{a}$ and $\mathfrak{b}$. The ideal $[1]$ is the *ideal unity* and contains all the integers of the rational field and therefore all the numbers of every ideal. A *prime ideal* is an ideal which is divisible by no ideal except the ideal unity and itself.

The theorem that has to be proved now is that if every number of an ideal $\mathfrak{c}$ is contained in $\mathfrak{a}$, then an ideal $\mathfrak{b}$ exists such that $\mathfrak{c} = \mathfrak{ab}$.

By hypothesis every number of $\mathfrak{c}$ is contained in $\mathfrak{a}$, therefore every number of $\mathfrak{c}$ must contain a as a factor. Now regarding the class of numbers consisting of the quotients of the numbers of the class $\mathfrak{c}$ when divided by a we have a class which either (1) has or (2) has not a common factor.

In case (1) let b be the highest common factor of the quotients, then selecting from this class of quotients two mb, nb such that m and n are relatively prime we may denote the class of quotients by $[mb, nb]$ which is identical with $[b]$.

In case (2) we may write $b^c = 1$, and it follows that $\mathfrak{a}$ and $\mathfrak{c}$ are identical.

Now since the basis of every ideal is a rational number it follows that we may order ideals according to the magnitudes of their bases, and say that $\mathfrak{a}$ is less or greater than $\mathfrak{b}$, according as a is less or greater than b.

It follows that there are only a finite number of ideals less than a given ideal.

Theorem. If $\mathfrak{a}$ and $\mathfrak{b}$ are ideals both less than $\mathfrak{p}$, a prime ideal, the product $\mathfrak{ab}$ cannot be divisible by $\mathfrak{p}$.

For if possible let $\mathfrak{a}$ and $\mathfrak{b}$ be two such ideals and let $\mathfrak{b}$ be the least ideal, which when multiplied by $\mathfrak{a}$ is divisible by $\mathfrak{p}$, then if c is the remainder when p is divided by b,

$$\mathfrak{p} = [p,\ ab] = [mb + c,\ ab] = [ac,\ ab].$$

Now c is less than b, therefore $\mathfrak{c}$ is less than $\mathfrak{b}$, therefore by hypothesis $\mathfrak{ac}$ is not divisible by $\mathfrak{p}$, and therefore ac is not divisible by p. The last expression for $\mathfrak{p}$ is self-contradictory. The theorem is demonstrated because there is no ideal less than $\mathfrak{p}$ for which the analysis is consistent.

Theorem. If $\mathfrak{a}$ and $\mathfrak{b}$ are ideals which are not divisible by $\mathfrak{p}$, a prime ideal, then $\mathfrak{ab}$ is not divisible by $\mathfrak{p}$.

For let $a = mp + a'$, $b = np + b'$, where a', b' are both less than p, then

$$[p,\ ab] = [p,\ (mp + a')\ (np + b')] = [p,\ a'b'],$$

since $a'b'$ cannot be divisible by p, this ideal is unity and $\mathfrak{p}$ does not divide $\mathfrak{ab}$.

It may be readily shown that a prime ideal cannot divide the continued product of a number of ideals unless it divides one of them.

The theorem of the unique factorisation of ideals can now be established. The theorem asserts that an ideal can be resolved in one way only into a product of prime ideals, repeated or not. If the theorem is not true, it must be possible to resolve an ideal into products of ideals in two ways at least. Thus let it be possible that the ideal $\mathfrak{i}$ is equal to

$$\mathfrak{p}_1\ \mathfrak{p}_2\ \mathfrak{p}_3 \cdots \mathfrak{p}_r$$

and also to

$$\mathfrak{q}_1\ \mathfrak{q}_2\ \mathfrak{q}_3 \cdots \mathfrak{q}_s$$

where the factors, which are prime ideals, may be repeated in either product. We first remark that the number of factors

is finite in each case, the ideal unity being excluded, for the basis of each factor is less than the basis of $\mathfrak{i}$.

We have

$$\mathfrak{p}_1 \mathfrak{p}_2 \cdots \mathfrak{p}_r = \mathfrak{q}_1 \mathfrak{q}_2 \cdots \mathfrak{q}_s$$

and since $\mathfrak{p}_1$ divides the left-hand side, it also divides the right, it must therefore be identical with one of the factors on the right : let $\mathfrak{p}_1 = \mathfrak{q}_1$, then dividing by the common ideal we have

$$\mathfrak{p}_2 \mathfrak{p}_3 \cdots \mathfrak{p}_r = \mathfrak{q}_2 \mathfrak{q}_3 \cdots \mathfrak{q}_s$$

and proceeding by a series of successive divisions we show that the factors on the two sides must be identical.

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LIVERPOOL

ON LONG GALLERIES IN TUDOR HOUSES

It is possible in the British Islands, better perhaps than in any other European country, to follow the development of domestic life from generation to generation as expressed in the planning and fitting of houses. The eighth century Oratory at Gallerus in County Kerry, and other the like little buildings of the same type and period, preserve for us, translated into stone, the form of the contemporary wooden cottage, which, moreover, has survived in many a later built half-timber cottage, such as ' Teapot Hall,' Dalderby, Lincolnshire, and other houses ' of one bay,' built on ' crucks,' ' gavel forks,' ' gavels '—whence our word ' gables.'[1] From the coming of the Normans the series of houses built in successive generations and still standing, is practically complete, so that we can clearly see how our ancestors lived and how as the years passed they bettered their environment and differentiated the various functions of daily life with a continually increasing elaboration.

It is in the Castles of England that the changes which led to the evolution of what we call Society can best be followed. Between a Norman castle like Rochester and a fifteenth century castle like Hurstmonceux a great development had taken place. In the former, a King and Queen might have had nowhere else to sit upon except their beds when giving audience to Ministers of State, while the way from the guard-room to the battlements actually passed through their chamber. In the latter, rooms were provided for many different purposes, and the subdivision of the folk dwelling within the walls was far advanced.

The difference between a rude and a polished society can be well tested by their attitude towards the most humane of all occupations—conversation. I have often wished to collect and arrange in chronological sequence recorded scraps of conversation of various ages in England. Rude talkers unpractised in the art of talk become abusive when differences of opinion manifest themselves. Abuse leads to blows, blows to intervention, and talk comes to an end. Arabs can talk all day long without ever

1. See S. O. Addy : *The Evolution of the English Home ;* London, 1898, pp. 16-37.

an angry word, but that is because conversation has been intentionally practised by them as an art almost since the dawn of Bedouin life. Our Saxon and Norman forefathers had no such excellent tradition. Conversation, except between lovers, finds little place in mediaeval poems and romances. Its absence was indeed the main cause of the admitted boredom of mediaeval indoor life, which the wandering population of troubadours, jongleurs, minstrels, and such-like persons existed to relieve. The jumbled crowd of folk who fed and slept in the great hall of a castle or large manor house were more like a disorderly public meeting than, say, the members of a club. Conversation, as we begin to understand it, had not been developed amongst them. They could not entertain one another; they needed to be entertained. Even in mediaeval Italy, which was more civilised than the rest of Europe, refined people filled their time by telling stories to one another rather than by conversation. The atmosphere of the *Decameron* is far removed from that of Plato's Dialogues. If the Greeks had not lived so much in public places, their houses would certainly have contained some chamber, planned to be a place of conversation. No such room was called for in a mediaeval castle.

The Solar, or withdrawing room, sometimes called the Great Chamber, or the Lord's Great Chamber, behind and near to the Banqueting Hall, was the germ of all future galleries, libraries, sitting-rooms, bowers, and other places for talk, which were provided in later days. In the first instance the solar was a mere refuge for the heads of the family from the turmoil of the hall. It was probably much used by the ladies of the household for their interminable needlework. Here, I take it, reasonable conversation began, gossip for the most part, one imagines, but human talk for all that, depending for its quality on the nature of the mistress of the house. The solar, indeed, in those rough days must have been the only quiet corner. All the work and turmoil of life went forward in the servants' quarters at the other end of the hall beyond the screen. At the solar end was generally the chapel and bedrooms for the family and for important visitors. All other chambers, guard-rooms and what not were reached by crossing the courtyard in the open air. Even staircases to the upper floors were often out of doors. This must have been felt as a great inconvenience as soon as elementary notions of comfort began to arise.

It was to avoid such open-air passing from room to room that corridors or galleries were first contrived in England.

In so elaborate a dwelling as South Wingfield Manor House, Derbyshire, built about 1435 to 1440, there are no corridors, and the Great Chamber is so placed, between the Great Hall and the Kitchen, that servants must have been continually passing through it. The late fifteenth and early sixteenth century type of great house is well represented by most of the older Colleges at Oxford or Cambridge. The absence of corridors or galleries in them, unless added at a later date, is matter of common experience. When, however, we come to such buildings as Hampton Court (c. 1536) the corridor connecting together one group of rooms makes its definite appearance.

It used generally to be asserted that the Hampton Court Gallery, destroyed by Wren, was the oldest in England, and Wolsey was credited with having introduced the type of Long Gallery into this country. It has, however, been pointed out that there was a Long Corridor at the Vyne, Basingstoke, finished in 1525, though unfortunately no longer in existence. At Nonsuch Palace there was a similar convenience, and the courtyard of Hengrave Hall, Suffolk (c. 1538), was entirely surrounded by an enclosed corridor almost like a mediaeval convent cloister. In all these cases the corridor or gallery appears to have been provided for purposes of indoor communication rather than as a chamber in which to loiter. It was from corridors of this kind that the true Long Gallery of Elizabethan and Jacobean houses was developed.

It becomes therefore an interesting and not unimportant archaeological question to enquire at what date the earliest Long Gallery was built, and it is the purpose of the present communication to put forward one example as earlier than any other yet cited by historians of English Domestic Architecture. This is the gallery at Allington Castle, Kent, the home of the Wyatts, where Sir Thomas the poet was born, and whence Sir Thomas the younger set forth to head the Kentish rebellion and so found his way to the block. When this castle was purchased by Sir Henry Wyatt in 1492 there is little doubt but that it was much out of repair and its accommodation out of date. Wyatt proceeded to restore it thoroughly in a way that would be ' anathema ' to modern purists in such matters. What he did to it indicates the progress in ideas of comfort made between the times of Edward I and Henry VIII. To begin with, he introduced light into dark chambers. He did away with the portcullis to make room for a three-light window,

and he transformed a great fireplace into a bow-window. He put windows in everywhere, and added more a few years later. He built a new kitchen and a porch outside the door of the great hall so as to diminish the draught, and he panelled the whole interior of the house magnificently. But his principal addition was to build a gallery.

The Edwardian Castle was built round a single courtyard, roughly oblong in shape. To go from room to room this courtyard had to be crossed. Open-air staircases gave access to the upper floor. Wyatt accordingly divided the courtyard into two by building a wing right across it from side to side. On the ground-floor this wing contained offices and an archway connecting the two courtyards, but upstairs it consisted of a single long gallery. This I believe to have been the earliest Long Gallery we can now point to in England. It was only sixty-six feet long, and its purpose was, no doubt, merely to connect the upper rooms on opposite sides of the Castle with one another, so that most of them could be reached from the Hall without passing through the open air. It was, therefore, a very small room in comparison with the great Long Galleries of Elizabethan houses, such as Hardwick Hall.

There can be little doubt that Wyatt put Allington into thorough repair and, therefore, also built the gallery as soon as he obtained possession of it. The mouldings of the archway that traverses his cross-building on the courtyard level are not Tudor but Perpendicular and agree well with the date, about 1492. The Allington Gallery is, therefore, some thirty years at least earlier than that at the Vyne.

It had a chequered history, which cannot be completely followed. The ceiling, we know, ' was ornamented with oak mouldings arranged in octagon forms on the white stucco,' and the crest of the walls outside was embattled. This building escaped the fire which destroyed the Great Hall, Chapel, and other rooms about the year 1600; but the battlements were taken down later and a tile-roof replaced the original. Then in 1820 it was ravaged by fire in its turn, so that only the ground-floor remained intact. On the walls of that the gallery has been re-erected, but only its end walls and doors are now original. Enough remains to prove that Wyatt's gallery was panelled, and all his panelling appears to have been very fine. If the Castle was called ' splendidas aedes ' by Wyatt's contemporaries it was, I expect, because of the woodwork much more than the stone structure.

From the first, therefore, I suspect the gallery to have been intended to serve other purposes than merely those of a passage. It was near the Hall and actually adjacent to the principal bedroom. In a long room a party of friends would tend to split up into small companies of talkers. All the Wyatts were keenly devoted to the New Learning. Sir Thomas, who spent a considerable time in Italy and was the friend of the most cultured folk of the day, was marked out to be a social leader. There is no doubt that he made Allington, for the first time in its history, a social centre where refinement of life was practised. Holbein painted the portraits of father, son, and daughter. Henry VIII and Wolsey were their guests. If in the now ruined and burnt-out library the very earliest Sonnets of English composition were penned, in the gallery some of the best conversation of the day no doubt was heard. So far from Wolsey having first introduced Long Galleries from Italy or France, it is quite possible that he took the idea from the house of Sir Henry Wyatt. When, however, he ordered one to be built in his great palace of Hampton Court he had it designed on a scale of magnificence far beyond that of its Kentish predecessor. He made it 180 feet long by 25 feet broad, with a large semicircular bay half-way along. Thenceforward few great houses were built during a century or more without one, rarely even two, Long Galleries. That at Audley End was 226 feet long.

The reason why the type was thus taken up and multiplied was not mainly because of the convenience of covered communication from one part of a house to another. If that had been a great desideratum, the numerous cloisters of mediaeval monasteries would not have been almost in every instance destroyed by their lay impropriators, who evidently had no use for them. One would have supposed that a vaulted cloister would have provided, ready-made, the best conceivable nucleus for a quadrangular house; but in no single instance, I believe, was one employed for that purpose. Long Galleries were multiplied because they suited the needs of a day in which conversation was beginning to be cultivated. As they increased in size and importance the Great Hall began to atrophy. It presently ceased to be an inhabited room at all and became merely the entrance hall of passage, which it remained till quite recently. Now again entrance halls are being more and more used as 'lounges,' and this innovation likewise marks a change in social custom. The Long Gallery was the 'lounge' of Renaissance

days. It was also the music-room. Thus at Apethorpe this inscription is upon the chimney-piece of the Long Gallery :—

> Rare and ever to be wisht maye sownde heere
> Instruments which fainte sprites and muses cheere,
> Composing for the Body, Sowle, and Eare,
> Which Sickness, Sadness, and Fowle Spirits feare.

Long Galleries were also and not unnaturally used for walking up and down, and those of us who in these nervous days are peripatetically inclined still find them agreeable for that purpose. Sir Henry Wotton refers to them in his *Elements of Architecture* as places ' appointed for gentle motion ' and advises that they should have a north aspect. I have known a peripatetic philosopher, likewise greatly devoted to conversation, who, it seems to me, may be regarded as embodying the spirit which, in Elizabethan days, expressed itself architecturally in the form of Long Galleries. It is to him I dedicate this short communication, in the hope that the Long Gallery at Allington, which has been its excuse, may often again tremble with the resonance of his emphatic talk.

MARTIN CONWAY

Allington Castle, Maidstone

HISTORY OF THE ANATOMICAL MUSEUM

I

The early naturalist, halting between the shadows of metaphysics and the realities of nature, and ever seeking to relieve the tedium of instruction, at length devised the academic museum. He was very satisfied with his new creation. Here was something to illustrate, and occasionally embellish, the nakedness of truth, to introduce to a gay and careless public the victories of science over the mysteries of creation, and to endow the profession of research with the glory and advantage of popular approval. In all the centres of Europe museums shot up with the speed of fashion and the confidence of zeal. The spoils of the sea and the sweepings of the land were thrust at random into glass jars and mahogany cases of classic but unsuitable design. The public stamped through the galleries in heavy boots, or with cocked hat, sword, and quizzing-glass tripped lightly from case to case. The vogue of things created entered upon its long and changing career.

II

The mediaeval museum, in the absence of efficient technique and fluid preservatives, could only operate within narrow limits. Dried objects of a non-perishable nature, such as skeletons, horns, corals, eggs, skins, shells, seeds, sponges, gorgonids, fossils and minerals, were collected and mingled in heedless confusion. The spirit specimen was not available, but anatomical preparations were by no means excluded. The viscera could be inflated and dried, the vascular system injected, dissected out and dried, or isolated by corrosion, and indeed whole organs might be injected and afterwards mummified for exhibition. Even after the introduction of alcohol as a means to secure the permanency of the moist preparation, its use was considerably restricted by the expense of both spirit and glass, and technical works published as late as the nineteenth century counsel its avoidance as far as possible. The Hunterian museum, for its time unusually rich in spirit material, contained, as left by John Hunter, only 4829 moist preparations, as against 8636 not requiring a fluid preservative. Therefore the first use of spirit in biological museums is an historical event of no small interest.

Museum of
LEVIN VINCENT
as in 1719

The museum left by the Hon. Robert Boyle, which apparently found its way into the Royal Society's collection, contained specimens preserved in spirits of wine. Unhappily we have no independent description of this museum, but two of its preparations are described by Grew in 1681. One is a 'male humane foetus,' of which

> the skin hath been kept white and smooth for so long a time, *scil.* above fifteen years, by being included with rectified spirit of wine in a cylindrical glass; to the middle of which the foetus is poised, by means of a glass buble of an inch diametre, the neck whereof is fastned to the anus of the foetus by a wyer.

the other is

> a young linet, which being first embowel'd, hath been preserved sound and entire, in rectified spirit of wine, for the space of 17 years. Given by the Honourable Mr. Boyl. Who, so far as I know, was the first that made trial of preserving animals this way. An experiment of much use. As for the preserving of all sorts of worms, caterpillars, and other soft insects in their natural bulk and shape, which otherwise shrink up, so as nothing can be observed of their parts after they are dead. So also to keep the guts, or other soft parts of animals, fit for often repeated inspections. And had the Kings or physitians of Egypt thought on't, in my opinion, it had been a much better way of making an everlasting mummy.

In 1663 Boyle published the following important observations:—

> Nor were it amiss that diligent tryal were made what use might be made of spirit of wine, for the preservation of a humane body: For this liquor being very limpid, and not greasy, leaves a clear prospect of the bodies immers'd in it; and though it do not fret them, as brine, and other sharp things commonly employ'd to preserve flesh are wont to do, yet it hath a notable balsamick faculty, and powerfully resists putrefaction, not onely in living bodies, but also in dead ones. And I remember that I have sometimes preserv'd in it some very soft parts of a body for many moneths (and perhaps I might had done it for divers years, had I had opportunity) without finding that the consistence or shape was lost, much less, that they were either putrifi'd or dry'd up. . . . Nay, we have for curiosity sake, with this spirit, preserv'd from further stinking, a portion of fish, so stale, that it shin'd very vividly in the dark.

In 1678 the French Jesuit Barbillart was exhibiting a large bottle of spirits of wine in which the body of a child had been kept for several years; and ten years later it was stated that the Indian cabinet of the Leyden Academy included several foreign creatures and plants swimming in balsamick liquors as if now alive.'

III

It has been stated that the development of the anatomical museum was restrained by the cost of alcohol and glass. In spite of many attempts to discover an efficient substitute, alcohol is still the only medium which fixes and permanently preserves an anatomical preparation. In the financial year 1900-1901, the scientific and medical institutions of Great Britain purchased 33,780 gallons of methylated spirit, the cost of which must have represented no negligible fraction of an economised laboratory expenditure. It hence concerns the historian to weigh the influence of economic and fiscal conditions on the production of this auxiliary material. The importance of that influence can be gauged by the fact that in 1905 the cost of a gallon of ethyl alcohol in Germany was 10d., whilst in England it was £1 1s. 6d., the difference being explained by, on the one hand, a State-aided industry selling below cost price, and on the other a heavily taxed article sold at a profit.

The invention of flint glass in the seventeenth century is an event of first-rate importance. The commercial glass of the period was unsuited for museum purposes, but the transparency and colour of the flint glass jar made possible for the first time a satisfactory exhibition of moist preparations. In the second half of the eighteenth century Hunter was buying about 5,000 museum jars suitable for the display of his spirit material. It is improbable that these jars were manufactured and stocked in the ordinary course of business routine, for it was only after about 1830 that the demand for laboratory and museum glass began to justify such a practice. Hunter's jars must therefore have been made to order at a special price. After repeated enquiries I have not been able to collect any details of these transactions, many of the older firms having been extinguished by the introduction of free trade, and the books of the survivors not going so far back. During Hunter's time, however, the duty on flint glass rose considerably. In 1745 it was 9s. 4d. a cwt., and in 1803 it was £1 12s. 8d., this period corresponding, as it happens, to a perceptible diminution in the number of museums founded in England. The tax then dropped to 9s. 6d. in 1845, and on the advent of free trade it was reduced to one half in 1846 and to one quarter in 1848.

In the matter of spirit, a product so closely affecting the comfort of the individual and the prosperity of the state, we naturally have information of a more detailed character. A

duty on spirits was first imposed in England in 1643, when 'strong waters' were rated at 6d. a gallon. This example was at once followed by Scotland, where every pint of the national beverage bore an impost of 2s. 8d. Scots (about 2½d). But these halcyon days were not to last. In 1736, owing to the increasing popularity of gin in England, 20s. per gallon was added to the duty, and the license stamp was raised to £50. The result was so great an increase in illicit distillation that in 1743 the tax was reduced to 3d., and the license to £1. From that time to 1791 the rates fluctuated considerably, but the public, especially in Scotland and Ireland, invariably defeated a high duty by the double evasion of smuggling and private distillation, so that in 1821, when the tax had reached a culminating point, the duty was not paid upon more than half the spirit consumed. This introduces an unexpected and a complicating feature. Between 1739 and 1800, thirty-nine museums were founded in England, mostly by private individuals, and the anatomist, who had to choose between the law and his work, may have added to body-snatching the perils of illicit distillation. We can well imagine that John Hunter, whose scruples vanished where the welfare of the museum was concerned, and whose dramatic abduction of the body of the giant was a source of glee and self-approval to the end, foregathered as blithely with the spirit-runners as he did with the resurrectionists. It is therefore difficult to estimate precisely the influence of the cost of spirit, and the more so, for example, as no less than thirty-one different rates are given in the act of 1803. In England the duty in 1791 was 3s. 4d. per gallon; it rose steadily to 11s. 8d. at the close of the Napoleonic wars; after which it was dropped to 7s. in 1826, from this figure rising to its present level of 14s. 9d. per gallon at proof. In Scotland and Ireland the duties were different: in Ireland much lighter, and in parts of Scotland so heavy as to prohibit the legal production of spirit altogether. From 1800, however, the Scots duties were generally lowered so as to be well below the English scale, and in 1859 a uniform rate of 10s. was imposed throughout the whole of the United Kingdom. At the beginning of the eighteenth century spirit began to be generally used as a museum preservative, but it was not until about 1740 that the museum movement commenced to make headway in England, and its slow progress was at least partly due to the taxes, which by that time were making themselves severely felt, on the already costly glass and spirit. Thus no moist specimen could be added to a collection without

weighing in the balance the cost of mounting it, and additions which had no special interest or importance could not be entertained. The modern museum is not so handicapped. The introduction of the Coffey still has considerably reduced the cost of production; permission to use duty free spirit, made non-potable by some noxious adulterant,[1] eliminates the tax; and in England free trade has materially curtailed the expense of the glass.

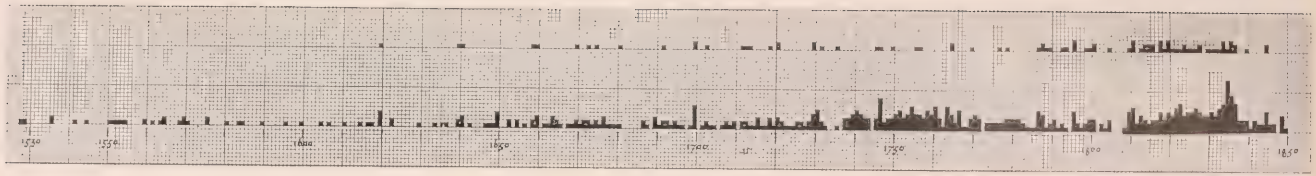
IV

The history of anatomical injections is a difficult and obscure subject. The first complete injection was made by Harvey in 1651, but the description of his experiment was not published until 1687. He describes how he threw water into the pulmonary artery, and observed its return to the left side of the heart; but local injections, for demonstration purposes, were practised long before this date. The point, so far as our present purpose is concerned, is when the first *permanent* injections were made—injections which could be used for museum purposes, and in which the vessels were distended by a solid medium. Here again Boyle, in 1663, may claim the honour of the idea, although whether he ever reduced it to practice is still unknown. He says:—

> And perhaps there may be some way to keep the arteries and the veins too, when they are empty'd of blood, plump, and unapt to shrink overmuch, by filling them betimes with some such substance, as, though fluid enough when it is injected to run into the branches of the vessels, will afterwards quickly grow hard. Such may be the liquid plaister of burnt Alabaster, formerly mention'd, or ising-glass steeped two days in water, and then boild up, till a drop of it in the cold will readily turn into a still gelly. Or else Saccarum Saturni, which, if it be dissolv'd often enough in spirit of vinegar, and the liquor be each time drawn off again, we have observ'd to be apt to melt with the least heat, and afterwards to grow quickly into a somewhat brittle consistence again.

It is astonishing that injections with a waxy substance, with plaster and with gelatine should have been suggested at so early a date. The speed with which the new method must have spread may be judged from the small pamphlet, *De Usu Siphonis*, issued by de Graaf in 1668, by which time the use of special metal syringes, provided with appropriate nozzles, was in full

1. This is the methylated spirit of commerce, first produced in 1855.


1550
1600
1650
1700
1750
1800
1850

swing. De Graaf, by pumping injection into the arteries and watching it return through the veins, thus anticipated the publication of Harvey's experiment by some twenty years.

In 1672 Swammerdam published a description of an injected human uterus in which the vessels had been distended with a soft red wax, and the whole then inflated and dried. This important and familiar preparation was presented to the Royal Society, in whose collection it still was in 1681, when it was catalogued by Grew. Other wax injections by Swammerdam of the gall bladder and spleen were presented at the same time. In 1781 the Royal Society's Museum was transferred to the authorities of the British Museum, who dissembled their embarrassment, and, doubting the propriety of the more humane section of the collection, put much of it into store. Perhaps therefore, these examples of the skill of a great and romantic figure in the history of Biology may still repose in the cellars of that congested institution.

V

The propagation of biological museums may be studied with advantage by graphic methods. If we draw a scale on a piece of millimetre paper, allowing a centimetre for each decade, the date of a new foundation may be represented by a dot in the appropriate millimetre square. Several of these chronological charts may be prepared. In one, for example, we should be able to embrace at a glance the history of the Natural Science Museum in all countries and at all times, and we could detach from it, for the purposes of comparison, those collections which had an anatomical interest. This would constitute a general scheme, such as is given in the accompanying figure.[1] Similar pairs of charts might then be plotted for every country, thereby making it possible to chase the decrees of fashion from one kingdom to another. Data relating to 445 general and 92 anatomical museums, ranging from 1528 to 1850, have been available for this attempt.[2] Nevertheless, the results must be stated with some reserve, although general tendencies can

1. Graphic representation of the dates of foundation of the Biological Museums of Europe and America between 1528 and 1850. The lower series includes all such museums (537), the upper, only those having special anatomical interest (92). Each entry occupies one of the smaller squares.

2. I owe grateful acknowledgments to Miss N. B. Eales, B.Sc., the Curator of my Museum, who undertook the laborious task of examining the literature of the subject, and of whose work the following paragraphs are but the briefest summary.

hardly be mistaken. It is impossible to be informed of every museum, especially of the earlier private collections, of which no printed record was ever made, and even of whose existence we are only aware from the chance visits of distinguished travellers. Cabinets are broken up and change hands to the complete bewilderment of the historian. The life of individual museums is in most cases so inscrutable that the attempt to incorporate this important factor in the charts had to be abandoned. Therefore, dates of foundation only can be charted, and even these are often the subject of active speculation. Generally speaking, the date of foundation may be deduced (*a*) from the publication of the first edition of the printed catalogue; (*b*) the extent and nature of the collection; and (*c*) the birth or death of the founder. But no printed catalogue may have been published, the contents of the museum may be little known, and details of the founder's life entirely wanting. This notwithstanding, the maximum error in the average case should not exceed 10 years, and, subject to this qualification, the charts may, in the main, be trusted.

For about the first century, i.e., to 1630, foundations occur with fair regularity, but there is no significant presence or absence at any stage. Judging from the general chart, no current depression, in spite of a break of six years, can be ascribed to the Thirty Years War—in fact, some progress is even shown. If now we separate out the record of each country, we find that of those nations principally concerned, Austria and Sweden, and in addition to these England, Holland and Belgium, had not previously exhibited any activity in biological matters, and we may therefore rule them out. Of the others, Germany appears to have been slightly affected, but France not at all, whilst Italy and Denmark appreciably advance.

The period between 1646 and 1680 includes forty-four foundations, and corresponds very closely with that access of peaceful activity which followed the signature of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. England, Germany and Holland all share in it, but France, although under the stimulus of national aggrandisement, is represented by only three entries between 1644 and 1713, and the record of Italy is almost as meagre. The period in question, moreover, is interesting in other ways. The Royal Society of London was instituted in 1660, and the French Academy of Science in 1666, and both exercised an influence which extended considerably beyond their immediate environment. Nevertheless, they must be regarded as the

result, and not as the cause, of the interest in Natural Science which precipitated this group of museums. The authority of these corporate bodies may be traced rather in the works of Boyle, Malpighi, Hooke, Redi, Swammerdam and Grew, published between 1660 and 1680.

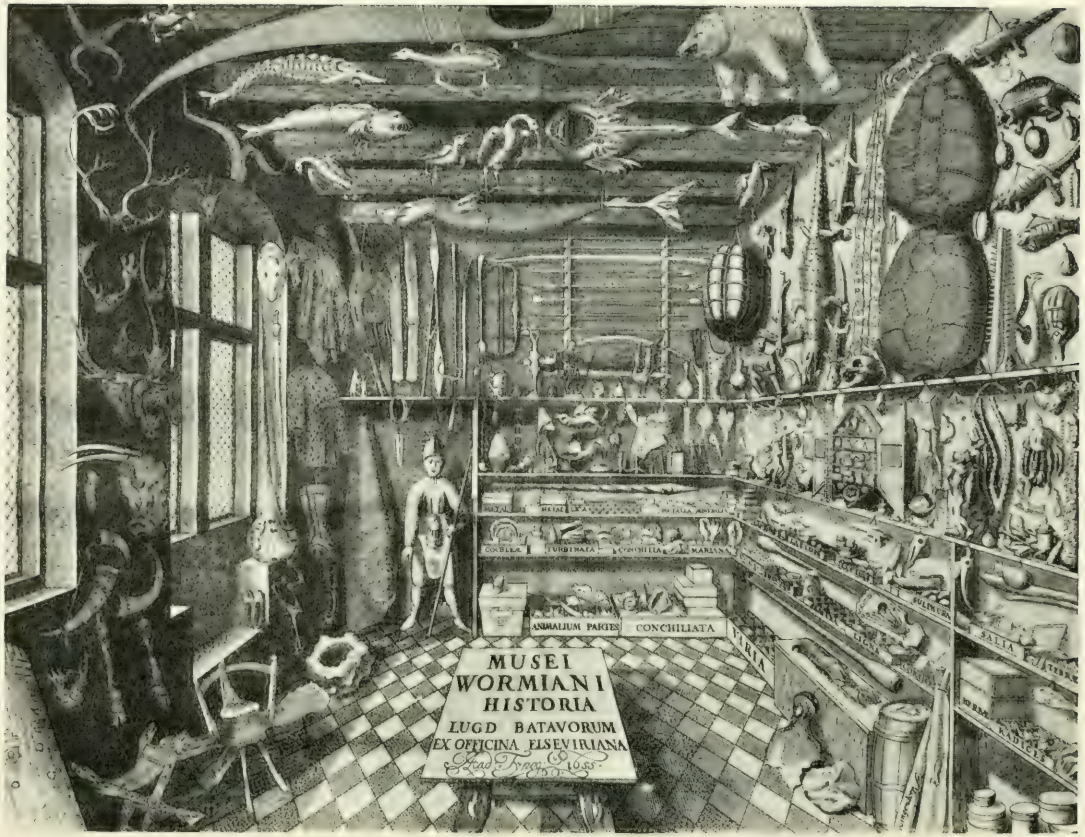
The war of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), affecting as it did France, Spain, England, Holland, Belgium, Germany and Italy, coincides with an almost complete cessation in museum foundation in all the centres of Europe except Germany, a country not fundamentally affected by the war; but after the signature of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, we have the inception of a period of activity which reached its highest point in 1747, and did not begin to decline before 1770. In it all European countries participated except Russia, where, however, the revival of scientific learning had not at that time extended. In Germany, Holland, France and Sweden it is the most fruitful age of all, but not so in England, although the foundation of the British Museum in 1753-59 belongs here. By this time, too, Austria had entered the field. There can be no doubt, from the character of the museums founded at the time, that the prevailing influence was the publication of two important works in systematic Zoology—the *Systema Naturae* of Linnaeus, the various editions of which range from 1735 to 1768, and the *Histoire Naturelle* of Buffon, which was first issued between 1749 and 1804. It is, on the other hand, highly interesting to observe that museums of an anatomical cast, so far from increasing at this period, show a slight falling off. With Natural History in the ascendant, and under the guidance of two such masters, anatomy must give ground. A later, and more important development, as we shall see, reveals the influence of the anatomical type of mind.

The Napoleonic wars (1794-1815) are responsible for another check to progress, and a break in the charts between the years 1800 and 1810 is of obvious significance. Here, however, England, with twelve foundations, has relatively overtaken her rival Germany, and exhibits a superiority to adversity and panic to which that great country was unable to rise. Holland and Belgium are beginning to retire finally from the contest; France, from the first revolution in 1789, was severely shaken; and Italy, so sensitive to external dominance, almost abandons her science during that stricken period. But the conclusion of peace in 1814-15 results at once in a general revival, this time evident in the United States. It reached its limit in 1835, and

was followed by the usual reaction. This second great advance, however, derives its inspiration from another source. It is the time of peace and of the Industrial Revolution. The powers of the mind are bent on the abridgment of distance, the advancement of science, and the expansion of commerce. Between 1800 and 1817, Cuvier, whose work was continued in Germany by Meckel, was publishing treatises which acquired a European vogue and influence. In England and Germany a number of museums of a more scientific and anatomical type may be directly traced to his writings. In the United States many general and anatomical museums are instituted. France and Italy begin to revive, Holland puts forth a final effort, but the reputation of Austria, Russia, Sweden and Switzerland is hanging in the balance, and we witness the final extinction of Denmark and Belgium.

The achievements of individual countries between the sixteenth century and 1850 may now be briefly examined. Germany alone, developing early, has maintained from start to finish a steady and growing interest in scientific museums, but the record of France, though almost as lengthy, is not so continuous. Italy, under the unique and protracted influence of Vesalius, was greatest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; she then suffered various relapses; but took some part in the nineteenth century revival. Switzerland opened early, underwent complete eclipse between 1572 and 1706, and from that time has exhibited only a spasmodic activity. Of those entering later, England, if unsteady at first, has been growing in strength all the time. Holland was greatest between 1660 and 1670, the activity of Sweden naturally centred round Linnaeus, and Denmark hardly survived the moderate interest she displayed between 1619 and 1672. Russia and Austria, arriving late, have been active at varying intervals. The earliest anatomical museums were founded in Denmark, France, Holland and Germany.[1] Holland has been more or less continuously interested in anatomy, but the final honours rest with Germany and England. The relative interests of anatomy and general biology may be ascertained by working out the proportion of anatomical foundations to the total number of museums instituted in each country, and on this basis the order of merit would be: Holland, 28%; Germany, 20%; Italy, 16%; England, 13%; and France, 9%. Holland and Germany are

1. I have no early records for Italy, but more complete knowledge would doubtless restore Italy to the van.



Museum of
OLE WORM
1588—1654

above the average for all countries, Italy is equal to it, whilst England and France are below it. Germany was at first interested rather in the general than in the anatomical museum, but with the growth of anatomical traditions, this policy is relatively, if not actually, reversed. She thus finishes in the strongest position. In England, on the other hand, interest in the general collection has rapidly and continuously gathered, but we find only a slight increase in the number of anatomical foundations—almost the opposite of the course of evolution in Germany.

The actual numbers of museums associated with each country up to the year 1850, omitting Spain, Malta and the United States, may be assembled in the following table; but too much importance should not be attached to figures which express only relative values.

	Total number of Museums founded	Anatomical Museums founded
Germany	156	32
England	140	19
France	64	6
Holland	50	14
Italy	44	7
Sweden	14	1
Switzerland	11	1
Austria	10	3
Denmark	10	2
Russia	10	2
Belgium	8	0

VI

We may now compare three collections, representing the most important stages in the evolution of the anatomical museum—first the mediaeval cabinet, of which that instituted by the Royal Society may be taken as an example, then the early anatomical museum of Ruysch, and finally the great foundation of John Hunter.

1. The Royal Society was fortunate in the choice of a cataloguer for its museum. Nehemiah Grew, the friend of Dugdale, Ashmole and John Gibbon, will always be distinguished as the author of a little book, published in 1672, bearing the quaint title of *The Anatomy of Vegetables Begun.* He indeed

shares with Malpighi the honour of having initiated the morphological study of plants. Such a man might be expected to make the most of the museum, and his year's work is not always vain. He respectfully classifies this pathetic collection of oddments and monstrosities, and, as in the case of the shells, he seizes the few opportunities it affords of exercising an ingenious and philosophic mind. In criticism he is a shrewd and healthy sceptic, but is not invariably sound. Thus :—

> The hearts of all great animals, saith Aristotle, have three ventricles; of lesser, two; of all, at least one. One would a little wonder, how so observing a man, should discover so many mistakes, in so few words.

On this point, however, Huxley has amply vindicated the Stagirite. Grew recognises indeed that the older zoologists are not altogether free from the suspicion of fiction, for the story of the barnacle goose he says is 'fabulous,' and the 'stupendious power of the shiphalter,' or sucker fish, which was credited with the ability to stop a ship under full sail, is dismissed in the irony of a single sentence. But his task is an impossible one, and the catalogue seldom rises above the level of: 'a humane skull cover'd all over with moss'; the windpipe of a crocodile; a powder said to be taken out of a serpent's head; the swaptail lizard; the egg of a swan with another within it; 'a bone said to be taken out of a maremaid's head'; the frog-wilk; 'the chaps (perhaps) of the Greenland needle-fish'; the palmer worm which 'pilgrims up and down everywhere, feeding upon all sorts of plants.'

It is to Grew's credit that he is only partially captured by the empiric medicine of his time, the history of which is at once the most pathetic and amusing in the records of natural science. The barefaced lack of connection between a disease and the means proposed for its subdual, does ocasionally distract this earnest soul. And yet the necessity of rifling the universe in the attempt, of using materials of the most varied and often offensive character in the hope of casually lighting upon a specific, attaches his sympathies and beguiles his reason. To his generation an important function of the museum was that it assembled that queer and heterogeneous assortment of natural objects which the craft and subtlety of the physician had ground up or boiled down in a frantic effort to alleviate the distresses of mankind. At times his orthodoxy is obviously strained when he cautions the patient to read Fienus *Of the Power of Phancy*, and a draught of a scruple of soft alabaster taken in milk is only

Museum of
FREDERIK RUYSCH
1638—1731

approved in the absence of a more relevant remedy. On the other hand, the specious effrontery of powdered crabs' claws worked up with a jelly extracted from the skins of snakes subdues his scepticism, nor does the cure of baldness appear difficult if a 'wilk, being burnt, powdered, and mixed with old oil to the consistence of glew' be well rubbed into the refractory scalp. Indeed the magic of the 'wilk shell' declares itself in the minor and vague respect of 'doing good' if only it be used as a drinking vessel, whilst the stomach of the ostrich sustains its high reputation by dissolving the stone which is incapable of afflicting its digestion. The prevailing taint of cynicism, rather than his own humour, is perhaps responsible for the passage in which he says that the 'stag's tears' are

> a thicken'd excretion from the inward angle of his eye. In colour and consistence almost like to mirrh; or ear-wax that has been long harden'd in the ear . . . They are generally affirmed to be sudorifick, and of an alexipharmick nature. And if they were as easie to be had, as some womens, it were worth the trying.

Such was the character of the mediaeval museum. A superfluous institution, it may be thought, but useful in keeping alive the interest of the public, and in preparing the world for better things.

2. Of the pre-Hunterian museums of Anatomy, that founded by Frederik Ruysch, Professor of Anatomy at Amsterdam, is clearly the most important. Ruysch was born in 1638 and died in 1731, and therefore lived a century before Hunter. The first catalogue of the 'Musaeum Ruyschianum Anatomicum' was published in 1691, the zoological collections were described in 1710, and the anatomical in a series of quartos ranging from 1701 to 1715. The museum contained in 1710 over 1300 anatomical preparations in liquid, and it was purchased by Peter the Great, who removed it to St. Petersburg, in 1717. Ruysch was then in his eightieth year, but his mind was unclouded, and the 'silence and darkness of declining years' found his energies still intact. With fine courage he endeavoured to complete another collection, of which short descriptions were published in 1724 and 1728, and might even have succeeded had not an accident restricted his movements and shortened his life.

As a *préparateur* Ruysch occupies a unique position both in his own time and in ours, but a jealous and suspicious disposition preserved the secrets of his methods to the end.

His son, who assisted him in the work, and might in his own time have divulged the technique, unhappily predeceased him. In his publications Ruysch confines himself to such statements as that the preparation is preserved in balsam, which presumably in some cases is turpentine, or ' in liquore limpidissimo,' which appears to be spirits of wine. In an access of confidence he tells us in one place that the liquid has been prepared from spirits of wine, frumentum, sugar and arrack, but does not give either the quantities or the method of procedure. His unique reputation as an injector is tarnished by similar reserves, and he mentions only that vessels may be filled with a ' coloured material,' red wax, or mercury. His passion for injection discovers itself in weird and unexpected fashion. The skeletons in the museum are thrown into dolorous attitudes, and provided with anatomical pocket-handkerchiefs of injected omentum, and even the bladder used in sealing the mouths of the jars has been carefully injected. The results are naturally a source of pride and congratulation. He says :—' Sunt mihi parvula cadavera, à viginti annis balsamo munita, quae tam nitidè sunt conservata, ut potius dormire videantur, quam exanimata esse corpuscula.' His preparation of mummies by anatomical injection achieved an instant and startling success, of which the eloquent testimony of Eloy may be expressed in the following paraphrase :

All the bodies which he injected had the tone, the lustre and the freshness of youth. One would have taken them for living persons in profound repose, their limbs in the natural paralysis of sleep. It might almost be said that Ruysch had discovered the secret of resuscitating the dead. His mummies were a revelation of life, compared with which those of the Egyptians presented only the vision of death. Man seemed to continue to live in the one, and to continue to die in the other.

Ruysch's museum includes human and comparative preparations of all kinds—in fluids, dried, and inflated, but the lesson it conveyed was beyond the comprehension of his technical mind. To him an animal was only the *corpus vile* on which to exercise unrivalled powers of dissection and display. No serious attempt is made towards a scientific classification of animals or organs, or to build up a system of philosophic anatomy. In place of this the preparations are arranged, not to illustrate any principle of biological science, but to produce a picturesque effect. A skeleton balances a calculus in one hand, and a coil of viscera in the other ; fossils, egg shells and minerals

occupy the foreground; whilst in the rear sponges, gorgonids and zoophytes combine in a grotesque and unnatural wood. Bones are arranged to represent a cemetery, wrists are adorned with organic and injected frills, and human, comparative and pathological exhibits are indiscriminately mixed as the exigencies of space required. Of those vast philosophic conceptions which discriminate the Hunterian collection, no suggestion can be traced. Instead of the joy and stimulus of scientific speculation, the museum only reminds him of the sorrows of this world and the imminence of the next. Quotations of a gloomy and despairing nature, insistent in big type, inspire the hope that the diffusion of the Latin tongue was more restricted then than it is to-day. 'Ab utero ad tumulum'; 'communis ad lethum via'; 'ah fata, ah aspera fata,' are examples of the cheerful subjects for moral reflection which restrained the levity of the mediaeval student; and 'mundus lachrymarum vallis' was considered an appropriate introduction to the skeleton of a woman.

3. It was in 1763, when he was 35 years of age, that Hunter laid the foundations of his own museum. Up to that time he had been working for his brother William, not always harmoniously, but to the advantage of both sides, and the preparations of those early years may still be seen in the Hunterian museum at Glasgow. He died in 1793. For 30 years, therefore, he laboured without intermission at a task the perfect accomplishment of which is the wonder and delight of the anatomical world. His ambition was to investigate, and crystallise in the museum, the anatomy and physiology of the whole animal kingdom. He is alive even to the importance of embryology, and that dark and doubtful speculation known as the recapitulation theory, usually attributed to Von Baer, was first stated in unmistakable language by John Hunter. Several attempts are made to base a natural system of classification on structural detail. He divides his material into the following sections, in each case arranged in order from the simplest to the most complex: A. Preparations illustrating the general or monographic anatomy of selected animals, to serve as an introduction to comparative anatomy; B. Twelve series of preparations expressive of the general life of the individual as apart from its reproductive activity, such as animal motion, digestion and nutrition, heart and circulation, respiration, excretion, nervous system and organs of sense, connective tissues and skin, and anatomical peculiarities of particular

species; C. Ten series of preparations demonstrating animal reproduction. As examples of his method, he traces the vascular system by means of beautiful injections, for he lived in an age when the syringe was pushed into every crevice an animal presented, from the radial canals excavated in the jelly of a medusa, through the specific circulatory system of an Annelid, in which the dorsal vessel begins to assume the contractile function, and the definite pulsating heart of the Arthropod and Mollusc, to the complex dynamic pump in all its details of Fishes, Amphibia, Reptiles, Birds, and Mammals. The transition from the aquatic to the terrestrial animal is followed step by step in the breathing and circulatory organs, and illustrated by a complete and convincing series of preparations. Here we have no assemblage of uncouth and unrelated fragments, nor, like the collections of Swammerdam and Ruysch, is it composed of heterogeneous dissections however beautiful. We find instead series of exhibits arranged to illustrate the fundamental principles of anatomical science, so that we may compare organs rather than animals. Here we may trace every separate organ in different species, under varying conditions, in young and old, summer and winter, male and female. No stage or variety is omitted which can throw any light on morphology, and for the first time in its history comparative anatomy acquires the status of an ordered and constructive branch of science. The mediaeval museum either addressed itself frankly to the curiosity of the vulgar, or it aimed at an admirable and even complete presentment of anatomical detail. Such a museum was manifestly deficient in philosophic interest. But Hunter's collection embodies living principles and ideas, on that basis only can it be judged, and through it the genius of the founder demands from us a generous and grateful recognition. From his contemporaries this recognition did not come. His methods and opinions involved a revolution far beyond the knowledge and ability of his time. His museum was of no more use, they said, than so many pigs' pettitoes. Indeed his friend Sir Joseph Banks, himself a distinguished naturalist and President of the Royal Society, writes after the death of Hunter as follows:

> Had I thought my friend John Hunter's collection an object of importance to the general study of natural history, or indeed to any branch of science except to that of medicine, I hope that two years would not have elapsed without my taking an active part in recommending to the public the measure of purchasing it.

On the other hand it is a pleasure to record that his enemy

Jesse Foot, whose implacable jealousy even the death of Hunter could not disarm, should sound the only note of genuine and unreserved approval. He says :—

> I know of no museum similar to this ; it may be said to be unique, or *sui generis ;* nor do I think that the aggregation or consolidation of any former museums would have produced any thing like this : and I believe that the idea of forming such a collection originated with John Hunter.

It is distressing to trace the subsequent history of the anatomical museum. Hunter's collection, it is true, has no rival, but then it has had no imitators. Modern ideals discover a narrower outlook, and a relaxing hold on anatomical verity. The museum of the present day is designed to illustrate, first the general principles of classification, and afterwards the elements of *systematic* anatomy. It is above everything zoological, and is in striking and almost painful contrast to the big scale and rigorous science of the Hunterian conception. One of the most eminent of German zoologists remarked to the writer, some years ago, that of all the wonderful sights of England the Hunterian museum had impressed him the most. Upon this museum the reputation of John Hunter as a man of science must ultimately depend. It is a foundation which has undergone no decay, and requires no fortification.

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THE FORTRESS OF THE ROCKS

The historical *rôle* of the mountain has been always that of a fortress. Sometimes it is a refuge for man in his need, a shelter for the conquered, the persecuted or the oppressed. Sometimes it has been looked on rather as the frowning keep that bars the road against all comers, whose lord is the very spirit of fear, that through his ministers, storm and cold and danger, levies on them that would pass by a toll of effort and weariness, even of life itself. In this light the Alps presented themselves to the mind of the Middle Ages, as the realm of terror, the evil and desolate land, the haunt of man's unseen enemies. Then came the modern army of adventurers, scientists, engineers, and climbers, who stormed the fortress, and proclaimed that its terrible tenants are nothing else than the forces of nature whose battleground, or playground, lies among the white peaks which to earlier centuries were the symbols of strength in repose. And in this army, and among those who have followed in its track, the work of conquest being now almost completed, there are many to whom this play of forces is itself the true refuge, because it reveals, as does neither the supposed fixity of the mountains, nor the bare idea of their decay, strength expressed in law.

Whoever stands among the hills to-day may not only see the landscape of peak and valley that lies before his bodily eyes, but may pierce with his mental vision far into the workings of the universe. He can trace in imagination the passage of the rocks on which he stands from the glowing heart of the young earth to the light of the sun, their early shapes, their sure disintegration by storm and stream and frost, their transmutation by chemical processes into other forms, their ages of submergence beneath the waters, their re-elevation, and the repetition of the same destructive processes which has moulded them to the form in which he sees them. He remembers that while these changes were in progress, the same sun warmed, the same frosts chilled, the same storms beat upon the spot where he stands. He knows that the snowfields and the glaciers that lie around him do but hold the waters arrested a moment on their endless journey through river, sea, and cloud. He looks on the torrent rushing towards the plain, not only as a sculptor's tool working on the earth's surface, bringing low the hills, and exalting the valleys, but as a factor in the life of man, watering his fields, driving his machinery, carrying his boats to the sea. The

warm airs rise from the valleys to melt the snows, and he feels a single movement of the vast aerial ocean that girdles the earth with clouds and veils it with mists, whose currents drive man's ships, carry his voiceless messages, and buoy up his new-made wings. Everywhere the observer feels the activity of nature's powers, doing their own work, helping man to do his, till the solid earth seems to lose its material reality and melt into a whirl of blended and interacting forces. Nothing is fixed, everything is in motion, slow or rapid; nothing is constant but the laws governing that motion. So to the watcher all things around him, the atoms that compose the rocks, pausing only an instant on their journey from form to form, the raindrop on its downward way to the ocean, the sunbeam that strikes on the fruit to store itself in its sweetness, the falling leaf whose apparently aimless path is yet dictated by the conditions of the atmosphere, not less than the solid globe travelling on its orbit and the planets in their ranks, appear at last as the great 'army of unalterable Law' on its ceaseless march.

The scientific imagination, in fact, conceives of the visible universe simply as the sum of many co-operating forces, so closely interwoven that, like the separate threads of a fine material, they give, when not too closely looked into, the impression of a single unified surface. The eye of the artist, on the other hand, is held by the sheer beauty of nature's exterior, which he tries to reproduce. But the poet can combine the artist's and the scientist's vision, and set forth the harmony of nature's inward workings, as well as the loveliness of her outward form. The scientific point of view in imaginative literature is indeed quite a modern feature. It is not of course to be found in all poets. Keats, for example, has the pictorial imagination; his descriptions of nature give us images of a static, statuesque loveliness. Shelley had more of a feeling for 'the pulse of the machine'; *The Cloud* alone would prove this. Perhaps his early studies in chemistry helped to give him this insight into the complex activities that go to make up the external appearance. Later poets, influenced by the scientific advance of the nineteenth century, linked still more closely the appreciation of natural law with man's own spiritual development. Of these, the greatest is Tennyson. But Matthew Arnold has expressed more clearly the thoughts of those to whom the high hills are a refuge because, more distinctly seen there than anywhere else, Law sits enthroned among their summits.

No reader of Matthew Arnold can forget his constant pleading for order and reasoned purpose in all things, nor the frequency with which he contrasts the calmness of nature with the restless passions of men, setting before himself the example of natural objects, steadfast on the path which law has marked out for them. At times, however, he goes a step further than this, and appeals to the Law itself for support amid the whirl of man's purposeless and discordant activities. So, at the close of the poem *Parting*, in the Switzerland series, we find him, after he has given expression to his passion and suffering, invoking Nature thus :—

Oh, calm me, restore me,
And dry up my tears,
On thy high mountain-platforms,
Where morn first appears,
Where the white mists, for ever,
Are spread and upfurled,
In the stir of the forces
Whence issued the world.

Note especially the last two lines. The tired soul seeks peace and strength, not in the mere cold quietness of the ' everlasting ' hills, but in the assurance of a fundamental law and purpose standing like a rock above the whirlpool of human life, and visibly expressed in the harmonious working of the processes of the earth's life and renewal. To the simple fact that these processes are most visible and impressive in the elevated regions of the earth's surface is largely due the constant lifting up of human eyes unto the hills for help. Not in the quiet beauty of the lowland, nor in the sweep of the tides, nor even in the pageantry of the firmament, does power manifest itself—to most of us at least,—so clearly as in the mountain solitudes. There Nature's unimpeded workings are seen in all their nakedness ; and while no doubt the trained eye sees further into their mechanism, one need not be a scientist to appreciate their grandeur and harmony. This it is which makes the first sight of the mountains for so many, even of those who have little conception of the true nature of what they are witnessing, a great spiritual event. ' Power in likeness of the Arve,' descending from the snows of Mont Blanc, struck Shelley's imagination forcibly, and many who are not capable of expressing their thoughts as Shelley did feel instinctively the presence upon the heights of a living force. Through the rush of the torrent and of the avalanche, in the gentle fall of the snow, the resistless grinding of the ice, the crash of falling stones, a power is

manifested, still working at the shaping of the earth, in whose hand, we are constrained to say, are all its deep places, and whose is the strength of the hills also.

To the dweller in the city or the plain habitually surrounded by the works of man, or accustomed to sight of a nature remarkable chiefly for its aspect of peace, there is at first something fearful in this activity of non-human forces. The inhabitant of the town misses the bustle of the day, and the glare of the evening's lights, that as a rule shut him in and protect him from contact with all life differing from his own. The lowlander sees the gentle earth under a new and sterner aspect; he misses the familiar trees and flowers, and the friendly animals of the valley. Even the sea is less cold and unresponsive than the mountain, less apparently under the inexorable rule of an iron law; it is a friend to man, a highway and a place of traffic. So it happens that many a man has his first experience of real solitude among the lonely peaks that

> But to the stars are known,
> But to the stars, and the cold lunar beams.

Then at times there comes upon him the old fear of the invisible inhabitants of the mountain. 'La nuit, c'est la vie des choses; et quand on n'y est pas habitué, cela fait peur.' Solitude, like the darkness, impresses us with the terrifying aliveness of the objects which by day, or when we are in company, make up merely the background of human activities. But, as Daudet's words imply, this feeling of fear is largely an effect of novelty and strangeness; which indeed may be said of all the emotions awakened by mountain scenery. People who live amongst scenes of great natural beauty or impressiveness are the last, as a rule, to appreciate them; we all know the story of the Swiss guide who vastly preferred a vista of London roofs to the view of the Matterhorn. But to the stranger among them the mountains cannot fail to be a revelation, whose effects need not be momentary. Use may indeed dull the perception of the force behind externals; but it may on the other hand replace the first vague fear of it by understanding and trust in its mysterious workings. When this confidence is attained, Matthew Arnold's living law of harmonised forces is seen more tenderly as the 'something far more deeply interfused' of Wordsworth, and may at last stand out as before Shelley's vision transfigured into 'that Love whose smile kindles the universe.'

LIVERPOOL D. M. VAUGHAN

VERSE

TO J. M. M.: A SUITE

I

Universitatis Fundator

If there be any virtue in the sun
That conjures smoky roofs to patined gold,
That through grey warehouse windows cries ' behold ! '
To the pale clerk amid his ledgers dun,
That to the girl between the looms that run
Makes of the motes a lover's tale retold,
That o'er the market-place of chattels sold
Calls ' here is Beauty, free to every one ! '

Who shall, if so, gainsay the voice that calls
' Come hither, from the counting-house and loom ;
Be not content with labours of the den ;
Hang up fresh lamps within your soul's fair room ;
Let more light through across all clay-built walls,
And largess knowledge for the lives of men ! '

II

Admetus

When that the white Alcestis fought with Death,
And from her scorn drew strength to win,
How suffered he who watched the waning breath
Through the dead heavy night drift faintlier in,
The rose-bud mouth droop thin !

THE WOMEN AT THE SEPULCHRE

From a Painting by Robert Anning Bell

He saw not him, the lion-hided, leap
  The last ravine that clove the plain,
He only saw the leaden-lidded sleep
  Mask her pale face and marble out the pain,
    And groaned for all his gain!

O soul, my soul, if that Love die for thee,
  To set thee throned as a god high,
Such godhead though divining all to be,
  Shall lack the love-lit zest-enchanted eye,
    And, living, long to die!

And thee, alas, no great-heart Herakles
  Shall give again thy golden day,
Love shall be fallen, a bird on frozen seas,
  Storm-swept, death-wide from home, bereft of lay,
    Life's music blown away!

Nay, soul, my soul, heed not a coward's lies,
  Nor fear Love's sacrifice be vain;
He meets his urn with unaverted eyes
  Who toils his day, and counts his toil his gain;
    His bliss o'ertops his pain.

III

Autumn Day

Sing we a dirge of roses for that the summer is done;
For that the year's gate closes, quenching the flood of the sun;
Now that a bank of snows is that where the roses shone.

If there be anguish any lurking below thy throat,
Pain is a silver penny bringing a golden groat,
Love will not waver when he cometh to Charon's boat.

Love in sere seed-fields sieving braves the thorn'd things ungloved;
Love, that is birth's forgiving, warms the old nest re-doved;
Loving is more than living, more than to be beloved.

IV

Deus nobis haec otia fecit

Roof'd with sea-cloud, and blown, and rained upon,
Goal of great keels from all the oceans seven,
Thou, city, like an altar, fumest to heaven;
To what god is it up-goes thine orison?
For what god tak'st thy tribute of workers wan?
Their daily bread thou make'st with little leaven,
Their hungry haunt thy foot-ways morn to even,
Their day is drear whose joy was a dream gone!

Lo, how old Venice at the waters' gate
Blossom'd to heaven on treasure wafted far:
Now, seated thou ev'n as once she sate,
While thy deep galleons wind the hornèd bar,
Consider thou her titles to be great,
And seek the wells of glory, where they are!

C. S. SHERRINGTON

OXFORD

ŠERANDÉSKĪ[1]

Bōrē-drukerimáskerō ! kūrimáŋerō !
Maskal lendī sōr te 'ven akái,
'Rē tē šāribenástī, muk te mīrī
Vavertʿem'skī tšib gīvéla tʿai.

Tīrō sas ō dikšiben, ō sunō
N'astis vavēr korē 'kʿā dikʿé,
Tūya šanas, te lhatésas 'mendī
Nēvē tʿemā te 'ven linilé.

'Doi ō raikanē junimáskē pʿuvīā
Dudyerdé kʿaméstar tū dikʿán,
'Doi-ka pīrē mūrša vaverkénsa
Kena 'kai bī-merimáskō tʿan.

Akē tīrō sunō, okē tʿemā
Ka dikʿása dūrīál šukár :
Kon te lel len 'meŋī, kon andéla
Murškanés tē fōkenén 'dotár ?

Okē tū te 'zīerdán ī pʿrálen !
Okē tīrī godlī te šundóm !
Tūya tʿai, tē bōrē xenlīása
'Rɔl beŋéndī tšindīán tō drom.

Tatšanés kedán tū ī malénsa,
Pretšdan yekʿ, tʿā mantšerdán vavér,
Tʿā 'rē sōkon bōrē kurimástī,
Raia, kūr'nas tut ō 'lanedér.

Nē 'kanó ō kūriben sī párdal
Sōkon stārdō, yekʿ tʿā yekʿ, peló ;
Trušal dosta kola te kerésas
'Rē tō lil tšinésa tū ' Kedó.'

Jes tʿā tšesa—'meŋī, āva, 'mendar ;
'Rē tō keribén tō 'zī jivél,
Pɔs te 'rɔl ī nēvē diveséndī
Sōr te sunyerdánas tatšō 'vel.

1. TO A CHIEFTAIN

Seer and warrior! among those who are here to hymn thy praise, let my voice too be heard, though in an outlandish tongue.

Thine was the dream, the vision, which the blind eyes of others might not see, thou it was who didst discover new realms to be conquered.

There thou didst behold fair fields of learning, radiant in the light of the sun, where free men band together to build on earth a habitation for eternity.

Lo! such thy dream; yonder the lands we dimly discern from afar! Who is he that will win them for us, who shall valiantly lead his followers thither?

Thou it was who didst inspire thy clansmen! Thine was the pibroch that roused their hearts! Thyself it was who with thy claymore didst hew a way through the ranks of darkness.

Loyally didst thou stand by thy comrades, upraising one, enheartening another, whilst in every great battle, thou, oh chief, wast found fighting in the van.

Now that warfare draws to a close, and one by one the strongholds have fallen; upon thy tablets, over against thy many self-appointed tasks, thou canst write 'Achieved.'

Though thou goest, thou wilt remain—for us, yea and of us—thy spirit survives in thy works, until in the days to be thy loftiest dream come true.

J. S.

VERSE TRANSLATION

Seer and warrior! 'mid the rest
Who are met to hymn thy praise,
Be my tribute too expressed,
Wandering tongue of upland ways.

Thine the dream, the vision thine,
Which the blind men might not see,
Thine the glance that could divine
Realms that waited victory.

Learning's fair and sunlit ground
Thou beheldest, where the free
Muster, here on earth to found
Mansions for eternity.

Such thy dream; the mountain blest
Dimly from the plain we see.
Who will win the shining crest?
Who will lead to victory?

Thou the clansmen didst array,
'Twas thy pibroch fired us there;
'Twas thy claymore hewed a way
Through the legions of despair.

True to each that shar'd thy hope,
Raising, heartening all thy clan,
Chief, on every battled slope
Thou wert ever in the van.

Now, beneath the evening skies,
Fall'n the strongholds one by one;
Now, against each high emprise,
Write upon thy tablets: 'Done.'

Not to thee we say farewells,
Leading still thy faithful few;
In thy works thy spirit dwells
Till thy loftiest dream come true.

LIVERPOOL

B. P.

SCRUTATOR

But gan *examine* him in straighter sort'
(Spenser, *F.Q.*, VII, vi, 51)

Scrutator doth discurteiselie
the Redcrosse Knight confound
With rude demaunds; but Arthur's might
redeems him at that stound.

I

The good *Red-crosse*, not yet recured quight
Of cruell woundes the which *Sansioy* him gaue,
When they for false *Duessa* stroue in fight,
Ere that vile Miscreaunt crost the *Stygian* waue
And *Æsculap* his cursed life did saue;
With proud *Lucifera* a while did wonne:
Him needed not her curtesie to craue,
For she ne reckt of nought arownd her donne,
Too full of sdeignfull scorne to weet what wooll was sponne.

II

And not yet hable well to walk abrode
Vnder the flaming beames that *Phœbus* cast,
In the coole chaumbers of that haught abode
He wandred oft; and in the galleries vast
Beheld the wals depeinct with aunters past
Of ladies faire, and knightes that serued them well
And met with loue returnd and blisse at last,
But out of Paradise thereafter fell,
And suffred fierie torment in vnending Hell.

III

At length, vpon a day, as *Fortune* bad,
He mounted hardly by a stately staire,
With painfull steppes, the while the Dwarfe him lad,
Who suffred not his Lord alone to fare.
Him list to take the fresh and lusty aire
Vppon the leads, or on some turret high,
If haply feeble steppes mote bring him there;
And euer as they went the Dwarfe did prie,
Alwayes suspecting daungers which him ought descrie.

IV

He, pushing gently at a narrowe dore
Vppon a litle landing by the staire,
It yeelded eath, that him affrayed sore,
What mote be seen or els encountred there ;
And would haue sterted back, and closed it faire,
To steale away with silent steppes for dred ;
But his Lord smiling chid his childish care,
And knocking entred, with no bidding sed,
For all within was silent, saue their echoing tred.

V

Nathelesse it seemd, behind a hugie pile
Of bokes and papers here and there confused,
A wight sat poring, with a pointed stile,
Vppon some writings which he fowlly vsed :
Sometimes he scrawld reuilings, and abused
What innocentes had written, sometimes strook
His instrument quyte through the writ, and scruzed
The papers in his angrie fist, and shook
His deadly stile, as he would murther euerie book.

VI

The chaumber where he sate was framed well,
And a wyde windowe opend ore the leas,
Whereon the deawie raine through sonneshine fell,
And dight with glistring droppes the balmie breese ;
Ne mote that pleasaunt moysture aught disease.
Theretoo the song of birdes resounded shrill ;
Seemed they stroue amayne their makes to please ;
And somewhere out of sight a murmuring rill
Told of her Chrystall waters, cleare and neuer still.

VII

So diuersly, without, of lustyhed
And hartsease and delight each thing can tell,
As farre exil'd were doole and drerihed,
Ne nothing els mote meriment expell.
The grownd was thicke with floures that farre did smell
To draw men foorth into the holesome aire ;
But that stearne wight ne dorste not with it mell,
But euer kept within his wals four-square,
Ne from his windowe lookt, ne reckt of what was there,

VIII

Nathelesse he nould forget in his retrate,
Albee they quooke in silence out of sight,
Beneath his towre a carefull crewe did waite
Till he should deemen that which each did wright.
Them seemd that day did neuer followe night,
Ne knowledge studie hard both early and late,
For they despayred in pittiable plight,
And quyte beraft of hope bemon'd their fate,
That euer they did dare at all to emulate.

IX

And as them seemd a voice was whispering :
The knowledge men desire, of what auaile ?
Ah, better farre beside a bubbling spring,
In willing ears to tell an amarous tale,
And ouer bashfull beautie to preuaile
In secrete shade where no man mote espie.
Why will ye chaunge your vermeil cheekes for pale,
And delue your brow, and dim your glauncing eie ?
No time but Youth for loue : Why haue ye let it flie ?

X

Cease, cease your toil : O cease while yet is time ;
Forego a litle praise, a litle known,
To loue when you may loue with equall crime :
He that delays too long shall liue alone.
'Tis but a litle while the rose is blown,
Ne long the ripen'd fruit embraues the wall,
And litle time hath *Youth* to call his own.
Thereat the listeners' harts gan lower fall,
Yet there they must abide nor heed th' alluring call.

XI

For that Magician, with resistlesse charmes
And faire enchauntments still had lur'd them on,
Schooling his lookes to banish all alarmes
Till in his powre they found them wholly gon,
And pledged themselves to aunswer all anon
That he would aske ; or els in fowll disgrace
And lenger seruitude their cryme attone :
So there they wayted long in helplesse cace,
And dreaded and yet long'd to come before his face.

XII

Meanwhile the Knight this mighty Wizard spied,
And musd what maner man thilke same mote bee :
Not *Proteus* selfe more hardly were descried,
For as the moments chaunged, so chaunged hee ;
Saue that alway his rank and proud degree
A seemlie gowne declar'd, and by him lay
A schoolman's cappe, with tassell faire to see ;
For sometimes he seemed yonger, sometimes gray,
And now was passing tall, and now halfe shrunk away.

XIII

And sometimes more benignant was his looke,
Not pale, but brown with sunne and mountaine ayre,
And blew eies whence at whiles those misers tooke
Some ray of comfort in their darke despaire ;
And in that shape, in deede, he would them spare
If spare he mought, and Iustice yet be wrought ;
For auncient lignage and achieuement rare
His liniaments their stearnenesse oft vntaught ;
Well was his happe, in sooth, who in that shape him caught.

XIV

But when the Knight his harbrough did attayne,
That gentle shape was wandred farre away,
Ne none knew wher, vnlesse it mote be *Spayne*,
Where many noble castles he did sway
And pondred mystic lore by night and day,
Whereof to weave high dreame and potent spell ;
Or otherwhiles rehears'd some antique lay
Of cheualrous emprize and puissaunce fell,
And from olde recordes drew, as from a liuing well.

XV

Not like a churle low sitting on the grownd,
But in reposefull chaire at ease he blew
A fragrant fume of burning weede arownd,
Which far away the saluage *Indian* grew ;
From cuppe and hollow stemme that smoke he drew.
And on a table long vntouched would lie
Rich vyandes and rare wines of rubin hew,
For he would rather fast then cease to spie
The vision that *Heauen* vouchsaf'd, whiles he mote that descrie.

XVI

There let him dreame, remote from enimies,
Or wake to walk in that delightfull land,
Where the light mellowes in the Oliue trees
And the ripe grape hangs down to tempt the hand ;
And slowly let the hower-glasse drop the sand
To steal away the peacefull pleasaunt time,
Vntill the barke ride wayting near the strand
With merry Mariners from his owne colde clime,
To ferry him afar, leauing his towres sublime.

XVII

And if in aftertime he read this tale,
And find his pourtraict thus vnperfit made,
Emong vaine toyes yshap'd by fancie fraile
In ydle mockery of a peeuish trade,
He will not think his kindness ill apayd
By rude resemblaunce here vnmeetely wrought :
The poorest flowre is prisd, though first to fade,
If olde affectioun haue that offring sought,
And find no better gift, and would not come with nought.

XVIII

No form like his was seen that dismall hower :
The Wizard stearne that did whyleare transmew
His visage oft, did now vnchaunging lower,
With lookes that seemd familiar and eke new ;
And frown'd forbidding as vnlike to rew.
For he was one whose very sight did fray
The rash beholder, and a deadly dew
Raise on the quaking body of his pray,
As doth the Crocodile on *Nilus* mudd astray.

XIX

A ha ! quod he, Sir Knight now welcome here,
The mirrour most of Pride and Surquedrie !
Thou who didst *Errour* slay, and straightway stere
Thy course awry, and from fayre *Truth* didst flee
To fare with *Falsehood* and her champioun bee :
By *Socrates* ! thou commest to my pay,
And shalt abye my questioun and decree.
Now sit thee, feeble wight, vnfit for fray
And for my stearne Tribunal, rashly sought to-day.

XX

The Knight much wondred at his rude accost,
Ne vnderstood at all the charge he made,
But aunswerd : Farre fro me be vaunting bost,
And eke as farre by euerie threat dismayd.
I neither seek thy questioun, nor denayd
Ere now to aunswer aught to gentle foe,
And if I might to see him well apayd
That sought to lerne least thing was mine to know :
The curteise Knight's faire word is ready like his blow.

XXI

Then gan the slie Enchaunter ply him sore
With questioun vpon questioun hard to solue,
Till he that litle knew but knighthood's lore,
Felt in his braine a cruell wheel reuolue ;
And all the while an hower-glasse did dissolue
His shifting sands, as though some deadly spell
Or false Enchauntment eftsoones should inuolue
The haplesse man ; and like a dolefull knell,
The clocke denounc'd the howre, which did him sorely quell.

XXII

He ask'd him what the bookes and papers bore
That *Errour's* filthy maw disgorged fast,
And euerie point of *Archimago's* lore
In hospitable cell and sage repast,
And in the bokelet at his girdle plast :
Now tell, quod he, what dreamedst in the night
In that same In ? The *Redcrosse* Knight aghast,
Asterted from his seate in pittious plight,
Now ruddier then his Crosse, and now as deadly white.

XXIII

And surely he had fallen at that stownd,
For the vnhable Dwarfe, with outcry shrill,
Vnnethes vpheld his body fro the grownd,
Albee it wasted was and worne with ill :
But lo ! Prince *Arthur* came vnto his will,
On erraund straunge arriued at *Hous of Pryde*,
Where, wayting audience, he vewed the skill
Of that same building goodly edifyde,
And clomb the stately stayres, and pac'd the chaumbers wyde.

XXIV

It fortuned he went forby the place
Where the Enchaunter slie the Knight confused,
And heard the Dwarfe lament his carefull cace,
In woundes and weakness wickedly abused ;
Ne staied ne entry rash at all excused.
But in his armes the fainting Elfe vpbore,
And for his cure a wondrous cordial vsed
That set him lightly on his feet once more :
Then turnd to *Archimage*, on him his wrath to pore.

XXV

But *Archimago*, for in deede 'twas hee,
Vsurping others duetie in that cell,
At sight of *Arthur* vanished instantlie,
With mazefull thunder-clappe and noyous smell
Of smoke and sulphure like the pit of Hell.
His gowne fell down forsaken in the chaire,
And as them seemd an Owle with hideous yell
Flew foorth the rowme : Now must we leaue them there
Goodly to greet, and of each other's hap inquere.

R. H. CASE

Liverpool

AULD LANG SYNE

ODER

ES WAR EINMAL

Ein Vöglein singet leise.
Erkennst du seine Weise ?
Es singt wohl Tag und Nacht

Und tut mit seinem Singen
Das Menschenherz bezwingen,
Dass es davon erwacht.

Wohl aus dem Dunkel steigen
In lautlos stillem Reigen
Geliebte Wesen auf —

O hehre Lichtgestalten,
Ach könnt ich fest euch halten
Und hemmen euren Lauf !

Beredten Blickes schreiten
Sie fort in ferne Weiten,
Sie haben keine Wahl.

Das Vöglein aber singet,
Dass es zu Herzen dringet,
Das Lied : Es war einmal !

ANTONIE MEYER

BERLIN

ENVOY

Noo thretty springs auld Mersey's tide,
Where mony a flag an' cargo ride,
Has flush'd her oozy, pester'd side
Wi cleansin stream,
Sin, JOHN MACDONALD, first ye eyed
Her, half in dream.

An', as the sessions whiskit past
Wi hazy suns an' sleety blast,
On Brownlow heights ye sat o'ercast
Wi thochtfu ee,
An' frae your luntin pipe richt fast
The wreaths wad flee

An' curl aboot wi fume an' reek;
The matches burnt ye to the quick,
An' there ye lay, and wouldna speak,
Doon in your spence,
An' sae ye brooded, week by week,
Wi mind intense.

Your Country's Bard, ance ponderin, saw
'A tight, outlandish hizzie braw,'
An' Scotland's Muse harangued awa,
Stave followin stave.
E'en sae, MACKAY, to thee did ca'
A vision brave.

She stoop'd on ye frae oot the cloud,
Aye sittin by the ingle bow'd;
Anon, in accents croose an' proud
O' resolution,
She spak the blessed word aloud,—
'The CONSTITUTION!'

But tho' she vanish'd into smoke,
A bleeze within your bosom woke,
An' mony a bold oration broke
In after years
On wincin Senates, when ye spoke
An' chid their fears.

For Learnin's torch an' Freedom's sword
Ye waved at ilka Council-board,
An' Compromise your heart abhorr'd,
—That venal quean :
Ye smote, an' cried upon the Lord,
Wi spirit keen.

When that auld hirplin three-legg'd screw
Had bruised an' jolted us askew
For weary year on year, 'twas you,
Before a' ither,
That swore she was the knacker's due,
An' sped her thither.

Your voice, above the fleerin din
Of a' your foes, through thick and thin,
Rose, in assurance ye wad win,
Ayont a' reason.
Man ! how ye stoutly cursed them in
An' oot o' season !

In the black hours when they were thrang,
An' maybe pit ye in the wrang
(Ye arena in Procedure strang),
Wow ! ye storm'd fearfu !
But sune ye bade them a' gae hang,
An' cam up cheerfu.

O' canny, formal fules prudential,
Of office-hunters consequential,
I daurna c' ye reverential
In contemplation.
Ye'll say they want the ane essential
Unto salvation.

For ye'd the prophet's distant gaze
On towers unseen ye help'd to raise ;
Ye let wiseacres tak the praise ;
But painter Gus
Has fix'd, for a' succeedin days,
Your saul for us.

Ye might hae shone in printed lore ;
Ye hae the mental girth an' store ;
But there was something at the core
That jist forbade ye
To miss th' appointed calling sure
For which God made ye.

Twal gudely volumes in a row
Ye haena done, an' needna do ;
Your ink in spate doth hardly flow ;
Your hieroglyphic,
When ance your quill begins to go,
Is, Losh ! terrific !

Ye hae your peck o' human faults ;
But, ah, MACKAY ! my soul revolts,
My pen rins dry, my metre halts,
Thereon to blether.
Ye needna fear a frien's assaults ;
We've fought together.

An' in the academic line
Ye've done a solid darg an' fine.
We might hae tarried, long to pine,
An' still might grope,
Without your cunnin to divine
The springs o' hope.

An' sae, to kindle recollection,
An' gie a loose to auld affection,
We've prentit here a gran' collection
By learned sages,
A' for your honour an' inspection,
—Four hunder pages !

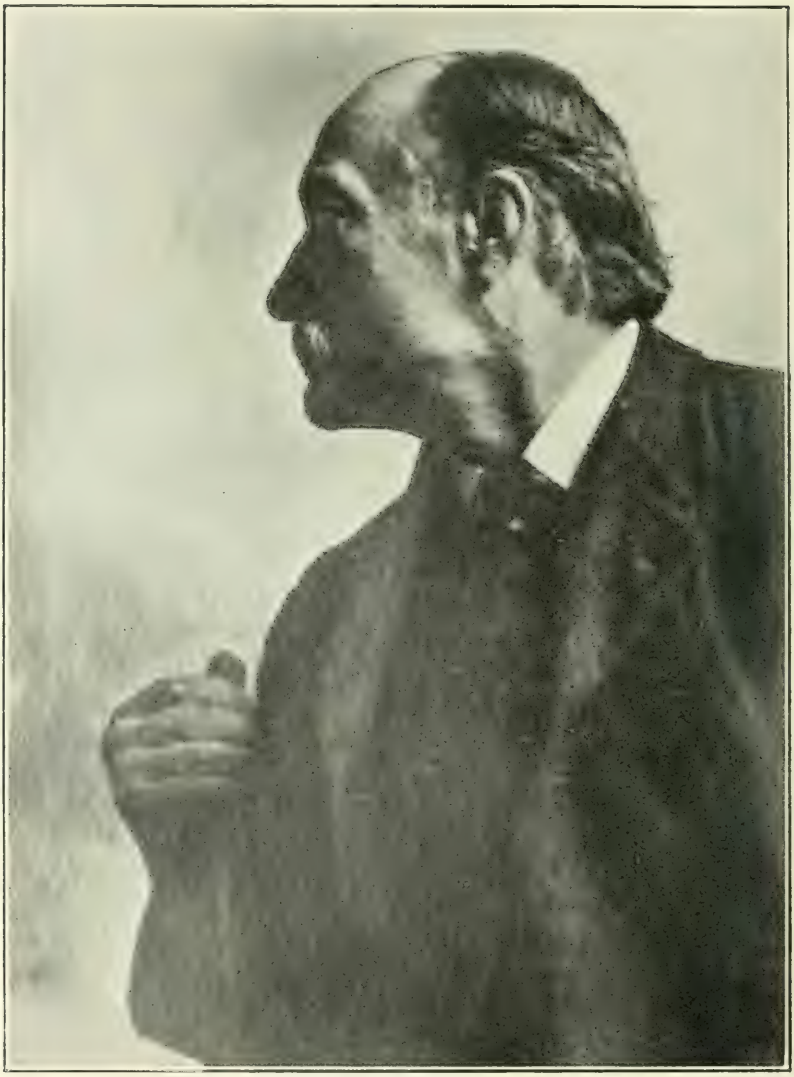
Ye'll find some candles burnin clear
Of those New Lichts, assembled here,
Ye've lit and fanned for mony a year.
They've come to greet ye.
To be o' gude an' livelang cheer
They a' entreat ye.

OLIVER ELTON

LIVERPOOL

APPENDICES

(ADDRESSES, ETC., BY J. M. MACKAY)



From a photograph by G. E. H. Rawlins

APPENDIX I

THE NEW UNIVERSITY AND PRIMARY TEACHERS[1]

In accepting the invitation with which you have honoured me I propose to speak, as you are aware, on the training of schoolmasters at the University. And if I seem at times to go afield sketching the old University and the new, you will bear in thought that my aim is to regard the nature and the power of the institution at which we hope to educate some primary teachers. For in a discussion we sometimes do well to extend our view beyond our own country and time. A cultivated and reflective mind, occupied, let us say, with politics, will come to see that some institutions of government, familiar to him as his native speech, survive from an older polity; and although without doubt adapted in a measure, they appear ineffective in the face of new needs.

So it is with the old English Universities. When we talk of a University, stately buildings, fair chapels, and spacious quadrangles, the shadowy cloister and deep green garden and dreaming spire are in our mind. Our conception of a student is taken from their undergraduate. He is one of a set, he has a tone, an accent, phrases, and manners. You would recognise him in life; he need not wear gown or blazer. You connect him with what we call the upper classes. For those learned seats are, when all is said, exclusive. They have touched little for three hundred years the English people. There are whole streets of families, cloudy towns and scattered villages, for whom Oxford or Cambridge is a little less remote than the House of Lords. In our great cities, it is true, a few scholarships link the new street and the old hall; and the pious founders deserve their classic adjective and our praise; but I think if it were the custom now, as a century ago, for a man of letters in the guise of a travelling Persian or Chinaman to survey our society, he would report much as I have done. We are so familiar with all this, it does not even afford us the interest of surprise. Yet there is nothing like it within the inner ring of civilisation. Nor were things so in the England of the Middle Age. You will not expect me to trace, were I able, the causes that issued in this plutocratic monopoly of learning.

1. An Address to the Teachers' Association, Birmingham, May 18th, 1888.

About the middle of the sixteenth century the shrewdest of the English reformers deplored the change. 'In times past,' preached Latimer, 'when any rich man died in London, they were wont to help the scholars at the Universities with exhibitions. When any man died they would bequeath great sums of money towards the relief of the poor. When I was a scholar at Cambridge myself I knew many that had relief of the rich men in London. But now I can hear no such good report. And yet I enquire of it and hearken for it. Charity is waxen cold : none helpeth the scholar, nor yet the poor. Now that the knowledge of God's Word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labour to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them. . . . This one thing I will tell you : from whom it cometh I know, even from the devil. I know his interest in it. If he bring it to pass that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school—as indeed the Universities do wondrously decay already—and that they be not able to marry their daughters . . . I say ye pluck Salvation from the people and utterly destroy the realm : for by the yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is and hath been maintained.' Our age, by the way, chafes at charity transmuted into coin ; but hallowed in antiquity and endowments it does not pain Eton or Christ Church. And without endowments high education has existed nowhere that I know of. To 'supply and demand' we may safely leave mortal meats and drinks and coverings, the ruder forms of pleasure too—prize fighting and street music—but the intellectual wants of man have hitherto been looked after by a devoted minority, acting as individuals, as a Church or a State.

The change came with the dissolution of the old spiritual order. The Mediaeval Church sheltered the Universities, and it was in turn nourished by them. To be a learned man, as you know, and to be a clergyman,—a clerk, as they said,—was synonymous. The great schools of the west were at Paris. They sprang round the chair of Abelard. From them some lecturers returned to England of whom little is known beyond their names, and our first University began obscurely at Oxford. Thither flocked the sons of gentleman, yeoman, and serf. In lodgings, which they often shared, they lived most of them in poverty. They went up mere boys, but time was not yet money, and many passed years in study. It was a fine instinct that reserved for this corporation of masters and scholars the name University : the word itself 'Universitas' had from Roman times been freely used of any corporation, it might be one of

smiths or of shoemakers. Popes and kings granted especial privileges : in the feudal world where the gauntlet and the lance held sway, or where within the walled town wealth in furred gown and hard skilled hand won, each of them, corporate estate in guilds of merchants, and in many guilds of craftsmen, the same streets knew now the privileged society of learning with jurisdiction and official dignities with robe and seal and mace ; and consequent collision over the riots of hot youth between the chancellor and the mayor. To sequester the boy from the immorality of the streets, halls rose ; and colleges were endowed with lands. Prelates who were great statesmen in their day founded most of those at Oxford. One of the earliest, however, was founded by a great baron and his lady ; some noble statutes are drawn in her name, and he has won more distinction from their college than from his discrowned son, who hangs as a mere 'Toom Tabard' (empty coat) in Scottish history.

The University chest, too, got monies (the first recorded bequest being that of a Countess of Warwick,) which the needy student drew on in pittances, leaving his pledge behind. It lay in the church of St. Mary. In the fourteenth century Oxford counted her students by thousands : mediaeval numbers are loose, but if we divide by three the tale of her scholars reached 10,000.

Take this picture of a student's room :—

Whylom ther was dwellinge at Oxenford
A riche gnof, that gestes heeld to bord,
And of his craft he was a carpenter.
With him ther was dwellinge a poure scoler . . .
A chambre hadde he in that hostelrye
Allone, withouten any companye,
Ful fetisly ydight with herbes swote,
. . . and bokes grete and smale,
His astrelabie, longinge for his art
. . . stones, layen faire apart
On shelves couched at his beddes heed,
His presse ycovered with a falding reed.
And al above ther lay a gay sautrye,
On which he made a nightes melodye,
So swetely, that al the chambre rong ;
And *Angelus ad virginem* he song.
. . . .

And thus this swete clerk his tyme spente
After his freendes finding and his rente.

The mediaeval society was saturated with the influence of the University. Think of Chaucer's Pilgrims—the Clerk of Oxford, the poor parson, and his worthy peasant brother. In town and country district a clerk who was himself a master of arts taught in the cathedral, abbey or monastery school; and when a boy left he was still maintained by the brethren at a hall in Oxford.

Instead of the man of science in all the natural branches let us admit that the alchemist and the astrologer reigned. For what was wanting were the great books; had the classical texts come into their hands, the Renascence, it has been truly said, would have dated from the twelfth century. But the judge and the churchman, the baron and the king, built the strong foundation of our state; and our moral ideals have not altogether cast the chivalry of the knight. The basis of progress is character, and emerging from barbarism Europe in the Middle Age grew moral: the romantic sentiment of the ages of faith is of course an extraordinary fiction. Although kingdoms then were founded, yet this was not enough. The spirit of inquiry must have free play. Happily in Christendom on that ground of order, security and freedom the human mind was to rear science and criticism and art. But our University, like our Parliament, took definite shape in the thirteenth century.

From the Universities spread the revival of learning of which the Reformation is another phase. Even before this, at Oxford and at Prague, Wycliffe and Huss assailed cardinal doctrines of the Old Church. Wycliffe criticised the basis of government. And the poor priests of the English scholastic worked at the heart of the agrarian revolution which hastened the silent emancipation of the serf. It was in an obscure and recent University beyond the Alps that a young professor of theology, Martin Luther, defied the Pope. Calvin was a profound student of the canon and of the civil law at the Universities of Orleans and Bourges. He founded an ecclesiastical state, which at Geneva, Amsterdam and Edinburgh overthrew the system of Hildebrand. His doctrines inspired the resistance to monarchy, that had a brief triumph under Cromwell, and, tempered by hostile elements, they did something for English freedom. Beyond the Atlantic they moulded the Puritan communities that in another century were to rear the Republic of the United States. A living writer reminds us that however we may resent the shortcomings, the positive crimes of American Puritanism, we should never forget its great merit—'It never dealt with

learning as the privilege of a class.' By 1638 there were some forty Cambridge men in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Two years before the General Court voted £400 to establish a college. It was a sum equal to the annual taxation of the colony. Next year John Harvard, an Emmanuel graduate, bequeathed to it £700 and 260 volumes. And Oxford and Cambridge, indeed, Clarendon allows, abounded in excellent learning under Cromwell. Chancellor of Oxford he gave Greek manuscripts to the Bodleian, founded a readership in Divinity, and granted a charter for a new University at Durham. In their fearless heyday Puritan and Catholic cherished the University.

In Scotland this great mediaeval tradition was strengthened. Three of the four Universities were founded in the 15th century. The freshman of St. Andrews and of Aberdeen is still called *bejant*, *bec jaune*, yellow bill, a nickname of mediaeval Paris. The University at Edinburgh dates from the period of the Reformation. The priest gave place to the presbyter, and late, in the subsequent century, Knox's 'pious imagination,' which was Calvin's before him, took statutory shape. The parish school rose by the parish church. In the burghs there had been grammar schools, and the way was open to the University. There the clergy were taught, and the schoolmaster had been there as well. University, church and school were bound indissolubly: the country was poor, and learning cheap. As in mediaeval England, the small farmer's dream for his clever boy was the college and the Church. The expenses of the University, even early in this century, would amuse you. Minister and schoolmaster discovered talent—an excellent discovery—educated it, pointing the way which themselves had gone. Under narrow rafters the young scholar read Virgil with his master: in the manse the minister prepared the boy for the professor. Consider what an influence was this. With no thought of it they were working, generation after generation, for the University,—they who were the natural leaders in things of the mind. Do you wonder how the University permeated Scottish life? And the method of the influence was potent as the natural laws.

I would not place by its side our plans of University extension. The extension courses promote in England the Greek ideal, that the education of a free citizen should continue through life. The Greek slave afforded the merchant the leisure which is essential for study. Among us a class of scholars can alone secure it. The refinements of shipping and cotton, of corn, hardware and finance do not appear to be picked up at odd hours.

Besides, we must not shut our eyes to the patent fact that there are minds which take to learning as others to business. But in a civilised community, for its own sake, the University should be within reach of every one who is built that way ; they are never many : and the reverence for learning and the belief in it, and the benign influences of its free refinement, will lay hold on the heart of a people by the devotion to it of son or daughter, of brother, sister, or friend. The scholar carries the University to his home.

In the education of teachers at the Scottish Universities there was a want. It was technical training. In the thirties of this century one David Stow undertook at Glasgow to supply it. As usual, this was a private adventure. He began with a monoply of his idea. He found that so large was the demand for schoolmasters in the new Scotland of trade and industry that he had to give what he did not intend—the liberal education as well. Such was the beginning of the Scottish training colleges. They multiplied, as you will hear. In 1843, many of you are aware, there was a secession in the Scottish Church. Stow and members of his staff and classes went out. The two Churches maintained a separate educational system. Acts of Parliament modified matters ; grants were given and parish schools opened to members of non-established churches. But not until 1872 did the four University Boards, into which Scotland was divided, cease to examine in classics and mathematics the successful candidate who was to teach in the parish school. In the north-eastern counties from the funds of a certain bequest a yearly premium fell to parish schoolmasters who were graduates. These men maintained at a conspicuous level the education of their districts : graduates of Aberdeen University, they sent their venerable mother the flower, or, perhaps I should say, the tender thistle, of the Northern youth.

Within a single generation the broken link with the Universities began to be renewed. The training colleges got a Government grant to meet the fees of such pupils as were considered ripe for University classes. Their pupils are, as you know, called Queen's scholars. To their governors (they were committees of the Churches) it is due to add, that it was their action and not that of the Government which prepared the young teachers for the privilege. Recognising that Latin and mathematics were decaying, and acting indeed in opposition to the Education Department, the training colleges of their own accord inserted Latin and mathematics in their entrance examination.

One of those colleges which owes much to the present professor of Education at Edinburgh, began with 12 per cent. of such candidates: the Latin and mathematical papers are now taken by 85 per cent.

Next, the University and the training colleges secured a vital thing,—the release of University Queen's scholars from the Government examination in subjects which a professor taught. His examination on the class work is accepted in lieu of the Government ordeal. Within these months the Scottish Education Department has given still larger privileges. The University Queen's scholars are practically excused from the training college during the University year. Lastly, in his report for 1886, the inspector of the training colleges, who acts in co-operation with the University professor, presses on the Department the extension of University privileges, implying of course a further grant to Queen's scholars for a third year in order to bring the crowning reward of University effort—the degree of M.A.—fairly within their reach.

In that report, too, you will find a tabular statement of the rise of the number who attend the Universities. Briefly, in 1874, at the two training colleges in Edinburgh, there were altogether 17 who took classes at the University; at Glasgow in the same year there were 16. In 1886 there were at Edinburgh 91, at Glasgow 94, and at Aberdeen 6—a total of 191, or nearly 40 per cent. of the male Queen's scholars in Scotland.

On the same authority we learn that the pupils are now better prepared than their predecessors, they carry off some of the highest honours. They are sought by school boards. Again, many after winning their parchment certificate, return and complete the curriculum of arts, some graduating with honours. In the elementary school there are now, I have heard it reckoned, more than 1,600 of them. Their influence was quickly felt. They could teach the higher subjects to their pupil teachers. It is considered a point of honour for a pupil teacher to gain the mark in the entrance examination to the training college which qualifies him to attend the University: all the candidates show a distinct advance. And not only for the training college but in the school the better teaching told.

My authority is here again official. But first a word of explanation, which is perhaps superfluous in this audience. As soon as a scholar has reached the 5th standard he may learn what are called specific subjects; an increasing number take these subjects. I give this list from the report 1886-87:—

English, 51,480; Domestic Economy, 27,813; Physical Geography, 14,771; Latin, 7,445; French, 5,154; Mathematics, 4,470; Physiology, 4,842.

Whether all these should be taught may be disputed. They are evidence of the ability of the teachers. Hear the Government reply to the criticism on those subjects:—'They represent a long-valued tradition of Scottish education as supplied in the old parish schools, by which promising boys had opportunities of higher instruction; and to which they owed the success with which in so many cases they achieved position and distinction in spite of circumstances. . . .' It goes on:—'In country districts they must almost of necessity be the only means open to such scholars of acquiring higher instruction.' And among them observe those which are selected for the concluding commendation:—'The University subjects have long been and will, we trust, continue to be a valuable factor of Scottish education.'—(Report, 1886-87.)

What has all this to do with England? In our own lives we are spectators, some of us partakers, in a new expansion of the University. You may remark it in Australia and New Zealand, at the Cape, in Canada, in India, and in the United States. It is among us in Liverpool: and your Mason College is an instance of its arrested development in Birmingham. To keep at home, the new Victoria University, with its constituent colleges in Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds, has a full staff of professors in the faculties of arts and science, of medicine and law. It has a thousand regular day students; it has great laboratories, and the beginnings of libraries. For it is no longer a question whether Oxford and Cambridge can be stretched out in order to include the academic candidates among 30 millions of people. I do not believe it would be a good thing to send them such an increase, were it possible. Their peculiar charm and power, that indefinable character which at its best is the breath of the fine traditions of centuries, would go. There is, besides, a prohibitive tariff. Unless you can supply your poor scholar with £150 to £200 a year, he had better look elsewhere. For the old English University is of necessity costly, like a country house and a club. Do you not mistrust those financial statements whereby a poor youth is allured to the Isis and the Cam by calculations based on £70 or £80 a year—calculations that forget to tell him that they exclude the delight and charm of daily intercourse on the river, in the playing-field, in the college room, all those social advantages which constitute what is for the mass

of undergraduates their education. Were my opinion asked by a poor scholar on the choice of his college I would recommend him to make his way at a popular University, where the distinctions of rank and wealth shade into one another easily. He would maintain without the chill of contumely or sensitive misery his independence. He would not lose his respect, nor join prematurely in the heroic scramble for position. For certain subjects and careers which will occur to you some students of the new University should pass to Oxford and Cambridge. And for such there should be scholarships. And perhaps it will be a feature of the new University that a young scholar will not traffic in learning ; that to decline money which he does not need, will be a higher distinction than to win it. There have been precedents.

Further, in countries where intellectual interest is keen, the Universities are numerous and powerful. The erudition of our century has been above all the work of Germany. Where would science and thought have been, the immense advance in physics and chemistry, in biology and physiology, the massive reconstruction of the critical and historical methods, by which religious and political conceptions are being silently changed : what of all this, without Berlin and Leipsic, Leyden, Vienna, the Sorbonne and a score of others on the Continent ? Their influence in Germany has not been confined to erudition. The lectures of their professors, from Fichte downwards, prepared the intellect of their country for German unity long before the proclamation of the Empire at Versailles. The historical class-rooms at Berlin were a political workshop : they were that, and scientific too—an infrequent blend. But to regard the realm of thought : from his unknown chair at Königsberg, Kant opened a new epoch in speculation. To the institutions and legends of early Rome Niebuhr at Berlin applied critical tests ; and history has been renovated in its origins. At Göttingen, Ewald wrote the history of Israel afresh, lifting into a new atmosphere the sacred book of Christendom. The truth is, that this whole movement of thought, the greatest revolution since the Renascence and the Reformation, perhaps greater than they, without earlier parallel since the old world of Greek thought and Roman government grew Christian, this revolution among us is working in the dark. It fills people with alarm, and gets tongue in the novel. Or some politician, who, understanding indeed the value of variety in pastime, allows no limit to his energy (which is admirable) or to his knowledge (which is a mistake), writes a

pastoral in some magazine on a critical controversy, while he is ignorant of the language of the texts, for readers who share his advantage.

In Germany, Holland, and Scotland each little University has struck deep roots. Hardly one of them, I fancy, could not show on the list of its students or professors some names that have been heard through every civilised border. It sets a cordon for society against the pest of charlatan science which preys on communities of the half educated. It saves the tragic waste where an amateur, able and patient, toils his life long on discredited methods, writing books that are boards and waste paper. Hundreds of men carry away from it all the light of all their day. Surmounting the distinctions of class and country, they constitute an estate in the commonwealth of civilisation. Best of all, they are open to its fresh influences. They perpetuate and spread the faith in the only freedom that is of account—the enfranchisement of the minds of men. Is it not something to have ever among us, incorporate in our civic life, such an institution ?

> Hic manus ob patriam pugnando volnera passi,
> Quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,
> Quique pii vates et Phoebo digna locuti,
> Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
> Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.

What are the sources of its strength ? Here, again, we are not left to conjecture. Mediaeval France and Italy were studded with Universities : the wild feudal society, the new commerce required law ; and towns vied with each other in creating chairs for the training of lawyers. Salerno and Montpelier were famous schools of medicine. Even now Oxford and Cambridge supply the higher schools and the chief places in Church and State. Beside the old faculties of arts, medicine, law, theology, the new University should institute chairs of the new professions—physics, chemistry, engineering, and of economic and commercial science,—equipped with laboratories, museums, and libraries. Music and the fine arts should have their shrine too, for these arts and sciences should not lie loose through a town, they should form the compact temple of knowledge. Instead of herding together the students would gain by intercourse ; at least they would learn that all those different pursuits exist and have their place in the world. Without undue strain the narrowness of the specialist and the bigot might be stretched as far as friendly

recognition of a neighbour. Is it all a dream? No; the plan of it, if you will look, is already laid. And the new University rises in the streets of a great city. It rests on the professions.

It might draw on them far more. Do you not think it would be well for all the Churches, that their clergy had some University education? The weakness of English Law is in scientific treatment and definition. The large hospitals of a city mark it for a medical school, where disease can be investigated in order to be cured; and the simplest intelligence may appreciate the importance of such results as the great contemporary operations in surgery. For the present, political crises are springing from economic. The intellectual pith of England is in politics. Journalist and politician would gain every way by a training in historic, political, and economic science. Those who have truly educated themselves know at what a cost it is achieved. How much might they have been saved by experts who could have put them in line at the start with the great writers. The sum of it, then, is that resting on the professions the University should supply the science of each one of them, strengthened within legitimate limits by practical training. The deadly divorce between science and practice is an accident that we have inherited from defective educational conditions: it is no necessity in the nature of things. Quite the opposite. That a great city should have a centre of thought and science, genuine, full, fresh, and accessible—this is only another way of saying that it should have a University.

For the new University should learn by the defects of the old. More than ever the profession of education grows. Let us then bind it as closely to the University as the profession of medicine. For this we should institute a chair or a lectureship of education. We should get into relations with School Boards and Church-school managers who will place at the service of our students some practising school where the University lecturer can direct the technical training of his pupils. The Government inspector would visit it, and the Government certificate in these technical subjects, in music and in drawing, in reading and in writing, shall be essential to their qualification. Our arts course must be modified a little for them: but they shall sit in the same classes and hear the same lectures on almost all subjects as other students. They will share in the University life. They shall pass the University examinations, and in two years they will take two-thirds of their degree, while the Government shall accept the University or the College tests in the liberal subjects,

in lieu of the Government examinations. Those appliances that will exist for their technical instruction should, if possible, be used by other students who intend to become masters in secondary schools : they should be encouraged to take a technical certificate. They too should learn how to teach, and for the chaos of secondary education something will be done.

For those Queen's scholars the University College will get from Government a grant such as is given to the training colleges.

In time the University College may hope to procure for them the privilege of a 3rd year, in order that they may proceed to graduation. For the University there is one thing of importance in their education : it shall maintain the University standard.

These are the lines of a scheme which the Council and Senate of University College propose to submit to the Education Department. An informal meeting of the prominent members of our Liverpool Council of Education—a body drawn from all the interests, who maintain this rare distinction that they determine to know nothing but the cause of education—had the good fortune to hear its merits, and the simplicity and ease of its introduction from Professor Laurie. On their invitation he had given them an address the day before, and won their trust. He stood sponsor for it, with the authority of his chair of education at Edinburgh, and of a life spent in the service of the schools and training colleges of the Church of Scotland. This was a happy event, for the lines of it were drafted by his advice.

We are near the end. Such of you as have followed the report of the Royal Commission on the single line of the training of teachers are aware that a draft of this scheme was sent in under the high general sanction of Mr. Fitch ; the way being prepared by one of its promoters, a governor of University College, H.M. Inspector in Liverpool, Mr. Heneage Harrison, who gave notice of it in his evidence. Mr. Cumin, the Secretary of the Department, made for the same end. It is an open secret that there have been already Vice-presidents of the Council who were ready to put through such a scheme. They were a little before their time. We must not let their successors fail for lack of support. The Commission has reported favourably. I do not think there is much danger of the plan being premature any longer. There is a general wish for it ; and indeed we may without too sanguine hearts regard its accomplishment as not far off. Come it will : if not, as I hope, by this Government, for a

certainty by the gentlemen whom the country does not yet appear to be solicitous to bring back from the shade.

The need is admitted. Only one-half of the number of teachers who are annually required are trained. What agency is more efficient than the local University College ? As a matter of economy it is there to hand : use it, for on the best of the future teachers it can bestow a liberal culture.

It is this breadth of culture that is wanting in the training colleges—on the published authority of an Inspector, ' where every thing is taught with the immediate view of passing our examinations. If you could get history, philosophy, mathematics and language taught by professors to them in common with other young people who were not going to be teachers, you would get,' said Mr. Fitch to the Royal Commissioners, ' a broader and more liberal education for your students.' The alpha and the omega of education is good teaching, which falls or flourishes with the University. In the elementary schools of Germany, to give a single instance, history is not learned by rote from a stuffed textbook, but from the living voice of a master who knows his subject. Who will teach our teachers ? Is not the problem of education there ? The University should undertake to solve it, and supply schools, both primary and secondary, with teachers truly trained. Indeed, the colleges of Victoria are equipped for the work as none in Scotland, where neither modern languages, nor history, nor geography are taught.

Of the local colleges which have shot up, some are poorly equipped, and their situation is against them. But some will live : for the new University is in its true place, amid the rush of life that flows through a great town. Among these let me express the hope that your College at Birmingham will flourish—at Birmingham, so open to political ideas, such an adept in the art of organization. If the scheme which is now before you were adopted and your clever lads at the pupil teachers' college, in your other schools, and throughout the Midlands, were directed to the profession of teaching along those lines, your Mason College would gain an excellent nucleus, a kind of germinal cell for the faculty of arts and science ; and your school of medicine, like ours in Liverpool, would coalesce with it as another faculty. Perhaps a Midlands University. That is a dream of some of your own citizens who are no visionaries : I wish them well.

Postscript.—In his first year of office the new secretary, Mr. G. W. Kekewich, took up the scheme. It will not be

improper to chronicle a remark of one of our professors after returning from an interview with him :—'He discussed difficulties with a wish to overcome them.' He succeeded, and Parliament has passed what our own University College urged on the Department. There should be an ampler record than is possible in this note of the services of Prof. Adamson at Manchester, Prof. Bodington at Leeds, and a committee at Oxford.

By the new Code of 1890, Queen's scholars may attend a University college instead of a training college. They shall be day students. A committee, responsible for them to the department, will receive a grant of £35 for each male scholar, and of £30 for each female scholar, in instalments through the current year. Here the University College, or better, the University, will, it is expected, have the examination in liberal subjects, the Government in technical.

For the Colleges of Victoria, University College has sought from the outset to establish the scheme on University lines : these are the simplest, the highest, the most vital ; and to the young schoolmaster the most attractive. He would become a full student, reading for a degree. Incorporated by Royal Charter, the recipient of Treasury Grants, the Victoria University is an integral part of the National Educational System. In its external examiners chosen from other British Universities, who are associated with its Professors in every Examination, the University offers a guarantee. And an enlightened harmony between the Education Department and the University would be a happy augury for education in the North of England.

With the personal approbation of some of the chief authorities at the Education Department, and on the advice of some citizens whose opinion in such a matter should count, the Committee in Liverpool who have undertaken the scheme are contemplating, besides, the establishment of a Hall of Residence. The advantages of such a Hall are obvious. A nameless donor has already offered £5,000, with the condition that a like amount be forthcoming, and Mr. S. G. Rathbone, who served on the Royal Commission, has sealed his solicitude for the scheme by the immediate gift of £1,000 to carry it out.

APPENDIX II

THE TEACHING OF ARCHITECTURE IN THE NEW UNIVERSITY: A SCHOOL OF THE FINE ARTS[1]

Mr. President and Gentlemen,

I will begin where it is usual to leave off, and express the pleasure it gives me to be here, a pleasure which I hope will not be entirely one-sided. It is to you, Sir, in the first instance that my thanks are due, to you and to the Secretary. My sponsors, I may claim, are everything that could be wished. *O si sic omnia*! The subject of my paper I lay at their door too. I hope they will not disclaim the responsibility.

Over eighteen months ago, I heard of two things that interested me very much, in connection with your society. These were, first, the classes that are held in the evening to enable the young architects to study, and, next, a wish that was expressed to bring those students under the teaching of the Professor of Art at University College. I think, Sir, that I alone of my colleagues had the privilege of hearing your views. We had both a very high regard for the Professor of Art, R. A. M. Stevenson: it was this sentiment that first united us. My friend, your Secretary, was bolder. I believe he actually ventured as far as Brownlow Hill on his sacred mission, and penetrated the University precincts. He had interviews with the Principal and some Professors. 'What can University College do for Architecture, what teaching can it give?'—these were his persistent enquiries. Somehow or other a happy Providence—I forget how, we never remember our greatest mercies—wafted him to my room, I am sure I invited him, but more than that is lost in the mists of grey oblivion. We sat together, we dined, we talked. To meet him I brought some trusty allies, colleagues who before then had undertaken in education the enterprise of forlorn hopes and carried them. The spiritual air grew genial. He brought us the whole apparatus of architectural teaching in England. It was not

1. Delivered to the Architectural Society of Liverpool.

large. He first revealed the programme of the Royal Institute of British Architects, a syllabus of examinations. We wanted a scheme of studies. So he submitted next, nothing daunted, the scheme set forth by the Architectural Association of London. The variety of it satisfied. On a syllabus of examinations and a scheme of study and some teaching, the Institute and the Association kissed each other. Old rivalry and hostility were forgotten. The upshot, that the Professor of Art lectured a year ago in University College for two terms to a small class of your young students on Classical Architecture. A remarkable teacher and enthusiastic scholars. Architecture has, then, been taught in the University. This was something. But the course was only a fragment of the scheme we had sketched. Unfortunately even the fragment has for the moment vanished, for the Art Professor resigned, and we are now without Art. You remember the proverb ' The darkest hour before the dawn.'

If my architectural friends could tell me a great deal about Architecture, I could tell them something of the New University. We were in complete harmony, and with our hands on each end we upheld our log. When the University appeared in Liverpool, the novelty was a little perplexing. Such an Institution had never been associated in people's minds with the life of the greatest English cities. It belonged to those still retreats of select aspirants to the old established professions, the Church and the Bar, and even they went there in the main for nothing so common as strict professional training. They went for a liberal culture, confined to classics or mathematics, and for the ordinary man to no great excess of either. For him the University was, on a bigger scale, a great public continuation school, where he had sport and pleasure, two capital things, tempered by a little study. The most curious result was that he sometimes left it, not with a little knowledge, a defect with which we can all sympathise, but with an insensibility which in fine provincial specimens reached to contempt for knowledge. Oxford he knew and Cambridge he knew by sight, but the rest of the sisterhood, British or foreign, well, he had never heard of them. He was proud of his College as he was of his public School when he could boast one, or of his London Club, if he attained the more select.

This extraordinary spirit of his came—he never reflected on it—from the exceptional position of these English University towns. Medicine and Surgery, for example, had found a home under the Royal Colleges of Physicians and of Surgeons in the

London hospitals and a few provincial; law in the Temple and the Inns of Court. Across the border, however, the Scottish Universities had maintained the ordinary University type, which for centuries prevailed through Europe. Like Oxford and Cambridge they had a Faculty of Arts for liberal culture, and real Faculties as well of Theology, of Medicine and of Law, where the Lawyers, Doctors and Clergy of the country were trained. They were national Universities, never the privilege or the monopoly of money, or of a class. And the association of all these sciences was in itself an education. An undergraduate curious and intelligent, although in Classics and Philosophy mainly, might hear of Helmholtz and Pasteur. He knew at any rate of the existence of many sciences and great names. I say this in itself is an element in education. It is not very much perhaps, but it is something. And more necessary than ever in an age of overwhelming specialism. Such a man will recognise that knowledge is one, all the sciences a capital for the enlightenment and refinement of human life, and for the emancipation of the minds of men. In our own time Oxford and Cambridge have greatly changed. The critical and physical sciences have invaded them. There are Professors, Lecturers, Museums, Laboratories, genuine schools of Law and Medicine and Theology. Even so, a University of the full historic type is essential to a great city and district. In my humble opinion the New University should not exclude any science, engineering any more than medicine. Moreover, every science has allied sciences, as Architecture her allied arts. The science of Medicine, for example, sprang on the anatomical, biological, chemical, and physiological sciences, and you cannot have a successful school for the ordinary practitioner, unless it is flanked by laboratories. We might apply a similar principle to each one of the professions.

A deeper question, however, possesses many minds, though it does not always get utterance. It is the utility of any study whatever beyond bread-and-butter needs—a euphemism taken from the frugal German for a plethoric sound English income. Accordingly, I am sometimes asked whether a knowledge of Roman Law will make a man a more successful solicitor. Success here means, of course, the currency. I do not indeed think that Roman Law will nowadays ever bring money in like business qualities. But there is such a thing, all the same, as education which is not covered by the possession of business qualities. I have sometimes attempted to turn the flank of my anxious

enquirer by the Socratic and Scottish method of another question. We are a serious people. To indicate what I mean by education I enquire whether a man would be more successful for religion. Has religion a financial equivalent? A cynic might add it sometimes had. To pass from this: As there is such a thing as the education of the individual which is most naturally perhaps promoted, in early and ripe manhood alike, by the critical, scientific or artistic intimate knowledge of the subject of his profession, so there is the accumulated capital—knowledge, which is good in itself and for itself apart from any and every practical application. 'I congratulate you on your discovery,' said a friend to a great astronomer: 'yes,' he replied, 'and thank God they can never make any practical use of it.' Such men are rare; let us not in an age of overpowering mechanical progress under the spur and heel of mammon stamp out our star-gazers. They variegate life which, climate apart, is grey enough in a modern city of industry and commerce. On the lowest calculation, in the wealthiest of all the ages they cost little. The University is their home. And you can never say, peace be to our astronomer, but their discoveries in pure science will be turned full on practical life. There have been many instances. Pasteur's investigations on fermentation have thrown Medicine and Surgery on a new era where in the alleviation of pain and the eradication of disease the results will be rapid, that are now a dim dream. One word before I leave this part. If I had to convince an irreconcilable on the value of knowledge, I should let fly one parting shot to bring him down. The triumphs of pure science and criticism even *he* reads, if he reads at all; through a thousand indirect influences they reach him. They change the spirit of an age. Take for proof the doctrine of evolution in this century, how it has permeated all popular thought.

In our own city a University, or to speak strictly a College, has been planted which provides for liberal culture in classes of languages and literatures, ancient and modern, of history, mathematics, and the natural sciences, with a medical faculty for the medical students, and a faculty and school of law for the law student. The young chemist and engineer are trained also. If our Institution has disappointed the hopes of a few it has already more than fulfilled the hopes of most, and will continue to satisfy more completely. It has disappointed, I say, a few, like that gentleman who wanting to say a few cheerful words to a colleague of mine on his arrival some ten

years ago, remarked: 'The University will do good, much good,' he concluded, 'you will keep, through your evening classes, the working man from the public-house.' Other friends were sore distressed that we were not influencing more the working man who, as they assured us, was burning with the thirst for knowledge. Are you not going to bring culture to him? You should have crowded audiences in every quarter where he dwells. Lecture him on Hellenic beauty, Philosophy, the great Literatures, History: acquaint him with the fresh discoveries in science. After his day's toil he wants elevation: elevate him. I used to tell my friends that, as far as I thought, elevation through culture, not a social function with an entertaining lecturer, was quite as much wanted in our own suburb. A University scientific mission to the suburbs might occupy the attention, the thoughtful care of some of our innumerable philanthropic committees. What then is the real line on which the University will rise and tell? First, it should be open to anyone however poor, whose talents lie that way, to find through it the path to eminence in every systematic profession and scientific career. Poverty should be no bar. To say that a youth should not be educated unless his father can pay for it, is like saying that he should not worship unless his father rents a cathedral or a pew. By so helping talent and worth you will do a great deal to break down the rigidity of caste that in our time rests on the basest of all social distinctions, mere wealth. For thus the different classes and ranks will be linked and bound by living ties; except religion indeed, education is the only equality that levels up. Most of the other current mercantile and marketable influences and ways and means—our ordinary social elevators or lifts—foster an incredible vulgarity of temper, act and tongue; material for a comedy.

And next, the University will do its work when it is not only the seat of the highest contemporary learning and science in a populous community, but when it has educated and trained and sent back to active life the schoolmaster, clergyman, doctor, lawyer, engineer, chemist. The University rests on the professions. Its activity and its life sweep all their range and their base which is liberal culture. So it is durably founded. Recently it has undertaken, for example, a new departure, not only the education of the engineer, but the education also, liberal and professional, of the elementary school teacher, in England, still, how little regarded! With a lecturer on education, a hall of residence, and classes in elementary schools

where the young teacher is trained to his business. It will, I hope, in the near future, prepare and train fully the schoolmaster of every grade, primary and secondary alike. Perhaps one day the University Professor will take lessons in teaching. As some of you know, his delivery is at times trying.

Criticism and the sciences are already, then, the constituents of a University, and all in their relation to professional life. Should it include as well a school of the Fine Arts and of Music? To take the Fine Arts now: In many Universities there has been a wish that it should. And Chairs of Art have been established. So it is at Oxford and Cambridge and Edinburgh. They have not been very successful. Why is this? At Oxford an enchanting master of Literature who wrote on art attracted great audiences, he who in Carlyle's judgment had the best talent for preaching of any man he knew. When Ruskin left, his successor, whose talents lay all for painting and not at all for preaching, lectured to dwindling numbers. He took refuge in visiting a School of Art that Ruskin had founded, threw his strength into painting and proceeded to teach it, but at Oxford there was hardly any one who wanted to learn. The undergraduates had come for every other reason except that, for anything you please except Art. At one University College, however, a Slade Professor of Art, a brilliant and original painter, founded, I fancy—he at least established—a successful school. Legros at University College, London, simply taught pupils to paint. I do not know whether he was for the average student the best teacher, but he had the rare compliment from a great artist, Mr. J. M. Swan, that you appreciated what Legros had done for you when you began really to paint.

The plain moral of my comparison is that you must base art at the University on technical training, a Chair of Painting, for example, or a life school. You must not lift your eyes for battalions of ladies in search of an afternoon's diversion at a lecture, but to a company of pupils whose serious business brings them there. A University should supplement such technical training by lectures and criticism on the principles and methods and history of Art. The pupils would hear these most agreeably and easily and effectively, because less eloquently in the constant criticism of their own work by their master. However a Chair of Aesthetics has its place, but you hang it in mid-air if you do not plant it on a group of studios. It comes last, not first, the crown and not the base. What of Cambridge, someone may say? Mr. Middleton is a great authority on

Archaeology, a scholar on the history and material of Architecture, on the Roman forum and the Palatine Hill. Trained an Architect, he writes works of admirable value. Perhaps it is that I know something about History which keeps me from thinking that you deal fairly by the Fine Arts when you turn them into Archaeology. Do not suppose that I do not value Archaeology, for History it is a continual illumination ; but Archaeology is not Art. And how much would be gained if a young Archaeologist had not only his education in languages and literatures and histories ; but was trained also in studios of Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and as many of the lesser arts as he cared to know ? We too have a Chair of Art, empty for the time. I will not speak of its two holders, both of them men of very versatile power who were friends of some of us. Enough to say, they folded their tents like the Arabs and moved away. The late Professor's legacy to his colleagues was, 'Establish either a school of Architecture or a life school on our Chair of Art.'

If we are to place on Brownlow Hill the Fine Arts beside the sciences and the rest, we must do for Art what we have done for them, we must undertake the teaching and the training of youth who are going to make some one of the arts their profession and interest for life. It cannot be done by theory alone. The medical student, to return to my well worn instance, not only hears lectures, he dissects, sees hospital cases, looks for symptoms, is invited for his opinion (which is not always taken), sets fractures, or may learn to tie a bandage. There can be no teaching of theory apart from efficient practical training and study to illustrate and drive it home.

Wherefore the New University in a great city is the Old University plus a modern polytechnic, and I hope we shall soon be able to add plus a School of the Fine Arts. To meet the new needs of the new sciences, to train chemists and engineers, as the clergy, doctors and lawyers have been trained for centuries, the polytechnic chairs and departments have been added, for the present the most flourishing in riches and equipment, although not in students. The School of Medicine, of course, was here before the University was founded, to supply your ships, hospitals and the profession. Now the first genuine demand for one great section of a school of the fine arts came from your Architectural Society, from Architecture, the Mother of them all. Young architects of Liverpool offices were already formed in evening classes, working at great disadvantage as

they best could, under lecturers who snatched time to give them instruction. So the classes, the material for an architectural school exist. It is no fictitious demand. In a vast city also the profession of the architect is a necessity of its existence; that I need not demonstrate here. Indeed at one of the earliest public meetings in connection with the founding of University College, the need of an Architectural School was set forth. Perhaps it was a member of this Society who anticipated our discussion this evening on the general issue and the programme of studies which I submit.

APPENDIX III

SENATE AND FACULTY: THE RELATIONS AND FUNCTIONS AND WORK OF SENATE AND FACULTY OF THE MODERN UNIVERSITY IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND TOGETHER WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE FACULTY OF ARTS IN LIVERPOOL[1]

Atque hac re nequeunt ex omnibus omnia gigni
Quod certis in rebus inest secreta Facultas

LUCRETIUS I. 173

TO SENATE AND FACULTY.

GENTLEMEN,

Commemoration.

I have the honour to lay before you the First Report on the Faculty of Arts. We are now fifteen or sixteen years from our original; and, slight as is the time in the life of an institution, it has been long enough for us to owe a commemorative service to the dead through whom we are.

The cry that recommended the new University to the public was not the liberal arts. The natural sciences and technical instruction have, in our day, the vogue throughout the world. How came it, then, that the new institution here was not, as at Birmingham, a Science College, which, by the way, has since been reconstituted on a wider basis?

The Reverend Charles Beard.

History is, as they say in painting, impressionist, but there is one name among those from whom we come that none will challenge. A pupil of Ranke, and a Berlin student, it was the Reverend Charles Beard, Minister of Renshaw Street Chapel who, in securing diverse chairs, and next in incorporating all in Victoria, established the University College in this city. Let me inscribe a brief record of one who did so much. History was his speciality; he had the critical sense, and an admirable gift of exposition. After preliminary studies on the precursors

1. Published in 1897, when the writer was Honorary Dean of the Faculty of Arts. The original prefatory note ran: 'The Faculty of Arts includes the Chairs of Greek, Latin, Modern Literature and English Language, Teutonic Languages, Philosophy, History, Economic Science, and the Lectureships in French Language and Literature and Romance Philology, in Italian Language, in English Language, and in the History, Theory, and Art of Education. The Principal, *ex-officio*, and the Professors of Mathematics, Law, and Art, and the Assistant Lecturer in Classics are also members of the Faculty.' [ED.]

of the Reformation, he turned to write a life of Luther. He has left a fragment. Without a library, such a work as he contemplated, and such as he was capable of, was impossible. The materials are far beyond a private scholar. Yet he tried to make a collection, and wrote for a daily paper. And he had other distracting pursuits. He was a militant Liberal under disabilities, the son, I believe, of a Unitarian minister, and one himself. Through sheer ability and worth he took, in the end, a prominent place on the University. Outside his ministry his work lives in this College. For, although the reasonable faith he inspired bore fruit in many endowments, perhaps as much has gone elsewhere to sacred or secular fads; it was his large University idea, and the reality of it which he left, that are his unique gift to this College and city. Kindly and caustic, a cultivated scholar, a virile and practical spirit, a true Englishman of the north country, Lincolnshire, the hand of genius in Haworth Rectory could alone have given him to the life. Council and Senate he guided until, multifariously overworked, he broke down in the fulness of his powers. At the installation of our Faculty, in which none would have rejoiced more, let us render a reverent tribute to his memory and life.

Bishop Lightfoot.

And to one other—he too, in the ancient phrase, *Servus Dei*. It may well be remembered hereafter, that the great scholar of the English Church, the expositor of the apostolic texts, helped to shape our beginnings. A poor boy of Birmingham, a Cambridge student and professor, afterwards the good bishop of that ancient see which, through Lindisfarne, strikes its roots into our primitive Christian world, Lightfoot's voice was heard where Beard would not have been regarded. Faithful to the far traditions he loved, as he was prompt to modern needs, his vivid dream of a University in our city, proclaimed in an address, is already a reality; and one day we may hope that his name will be commemorated here in the Theological Faculty and hall, for which our Principal has so long pleaded. If I may use a pagan figure for a serious fancy, it would be a votive return that would delight his shade.

I

Faculty of Medicine.

The first Faculty was instituted, as you know, when, at our incorporation into the Victoria University, with its seat at Manchester, the Medical School of the Royal Infirmary became the Faculty of Medicine. And beyond doubt, not only in what

concerned that School, but in the earlier movement which, starting from the Cambridge University Extension, and lifted upon an educational wave, founded us all, a few old students of the London Hospitals and a group of Edinburgh graduates, of whom three are now Professors Emeriti, exercised a steady University influence. But, while I refrain from dwelling upon the living, it is a pleasure to add that with that group collaborated another Scottish student—our present Professor of Chemistry. The Faculty of Medicine, their particular creation, began with six professors and a few lecturers. The primitive Senate had been ten ; it is now twenty-three. The Arts and Sciences started even : the three Arts chairs being Classics and Ancient History, Modern Literature and History, Philosophy and Political Economy. There were also lecturers unendowed, in French, German, and Italian.

Arts Expansion.

Fifteen years after, the Arts chairs were eight, the same number as the chairs of the Medical Faculty ; and the lecturers four—in French, Italian, English, and Education. Round the Fine Art chair had been constituted a City School of Architecture and Applied Art, in scope a whole School or Faculty of the Fine Arts, while the lecturer on Education was the head of a University Training College, which included some thirty regular students preparing to be masters in the Elementary Schools. Altogether, the number of day and evening students in the Faculty was 680, of whom 113 were proceeding to a degree, ordinary or Honours ; 200 were following separate University classes and Faculty courses ; the day and evening students of the City School of Architecture were 164 ; and 360 were attending the evening classes. The Faculty has trained in all 106 graduates in arts.

Treasury Commission.

While the Senate was constituting us into a Faculty, a Treasury Commission arrived to report on the quality of our University work, in view of an additional grant. Their report was an enexpected tribute to us, as, let us say it, the College was a surprise to them. Assuredly, none can owe them thanks more cordial. Now for some points of importance in their report. They remark how our College had been planned deliberately by able and sagacious men ; how the languages, ancient and modern, are taught by men of first-rate ability, who unite learning and scientific scholarship with the qualities of teachers ; and how the same may be said of Philosophy, History and Political Economy. Mathematics and the Physical Sciences—both of which partly come within the scheme of our

Arts courses—are acknowledged by them to be no less worthily represented, either in regard to the ability of the teachers or the character of their instruction.

Could more be said? These delightful and enlightened Commissioners continue :—'Indeed, the combination of learning and research with education and public utility is most remarkable. Then, in French and German the teaching, so often degenerate, is of the highest order; while the command of the language acquired by a number of lady students in Italian is very remarkable.' May I add in parenthesis: What an exquisite old-world touch is here, and how reassuring! Moreover, the institution of the Honours School in Modern Languages may give, they surmise, yet further stimulus to these new studies.

Lastly, though outside their purview, they could not fail to be struck by our intimate and promising connection with Architecture and the other fine arts. They note, too, the special attention paid to the science and theory of Education. Such, then, in their judgment, is the range and quality of the main work of the Arts Faculty.

Faculty of Arts.

What is our gain in this institution of a Faculty? First, our Modern Languages rank in the University with their elder sisters, and the creation of our Faculty summoned to our consultative council three foreign lecturers. To the scholars themselves it was a respect due, and a happy illustration of the comity that has reigned in the Universities of Europe. For the income of a University teacher is an indifferent reason for his exclusion in a college from the elementary rights of his office. The theory and art of Education, too, is everywhere included in a Faculty of Arts; and in welcoming our lecturer here we have anticipated, as we must often do, the tardy action of a federal University. We include all the normal chairs, and those next akin. Mathematics—the basis of the modern Faculty of Science—has been, from the schools of the Roman Empire, one of the seven liberal arts; while Law and the Fine Arts are allied intimately to History and the Literatures. The three professors of these sit in our Faculty. Then, alike for industry and politics, Economics is of capital importance in a modern University. A modern chair, its place is naturally in our Faculty. Lastly, the long and eminent service of the assistant lecturer in Classics made a special plea for his exceptional place on what the French define as the Council of the Faculty.

Functions of a Faculty.

But, generally, to the constituted teachers of groups of allied studies, branches of knowledge long and well defined, the

Faculty gives the duty and privilege of deliberating collectively, and of subordinating in its own province the individual to the general. It elects, too, its own officers, and in them has accredited and responsible representatives. Historically, of course, the Dean is its president and executive, supported by an assessor; but in our structure, the local precedent of the Medical Faculty in its primitive form, has given us an annual chairman—what you, Sir, who have dignified the office for a year, will least of any mind hearing me call the abutment of a Vestry into a University. And yet it works very well.

Subordinate to the Senate, to whom its resolutions come as recommendations, it should be the business of a Faculty to do the special work that relates to it, and so relieve the Senate, which is the general council of all the Faculties, for its higher and ampler sphere.

Constitutionally, then, the existence of a Faculty puts us in line at our base with the European Universities, and so far sets us within that commonwealth; and for us, whose Faculty is elsewhere the Faculty of Literature or of Philosophy, is not the name, with its associations of six or seven centuries, preferable to 'Department,' or 'Departmental Board'?

During our first year it was inevitable that differences should arise, even in our own body, as to our powers. Whether as Honorary Dean of the Faculty or as Professor of History I do not know how, at such a juncture, I can better serve the general interest than by submitting for your reflection a summary of the relations that obtain elsewhere. For we are at the making of a university; and the ancient structure is clear. We will hesitate before we adopt a lower convention. Then, there is nothing like getting to first principles and large impersonal issues.

Faculties in our University.

In the Royal Charter of our University the institution of Faculties was perhaps anticipated: certainly, the free development of the federal college is left unfettered. It was a wise policy, because a federal university—an untried experiment—might readily be wrecked from the centre. The true line is to develop the college, which, as a corporation of advanced teaching and study, fulfils the first conception of a university, and the title. We, for instance, are here in an ocean city, vast enough for our activity, and with prestige for the most imaginative; we learn what we want on its behalf, we strike out on every side new roots, we can confer constantly, and slowly organise a suitable structure. If we establish here the living reality of a

modern university we shall do best, and by charter and statute we are free to do it.

Let us keep and realise our freedom. The article runs : 'A college of the University shall not in any way be under the jurisdiction or control of the University Court or Council, except as regards the regulations for the duration and nature of the studies to be required of the students of the college as a qualification for University degrees and distinctions.' As the University was also instituted to grant degrees in the Faculties of Arts, Science, Medicine, and Law, we may ask, Where are the Faculties ? Do they exist merely on paper, as in the University Calendar of London—a University of Examination paper—to give one counterfeit more of an ancient University dignity ? The historic Faculty, indeed, grants degrees ; but it deals also, intimately and hourly, with studies and students. And here, as in Manchester, we have had from the first in the federate college a Faculty of Medicine. For the Departmental Boards of our University are not Faculties. They deal only with studies in reference to degrees and distinctions. Now graduates and scholars have only a passing and pleasant relation to them. But scholars, no less than Professors on Departmental Boards, are members of the University, and they also are defined in a liberal spirit as those attending lectures or receiving instruction in a college in the University. The Faculty at its full extension includes the teaching staff, the graduates and the students.

Federal College organized as a University.

The analogy of our contemporary College is not at all with the Colleges of Cambridge and Oxford. None of these has four faculties, Cambridge, in her style, compares with her daughter in Massachusetts ; while Oxford has the five faculties—Theology, Law, Medicine, Natural Science including Mathematics, and Arts. The true Faculty, indeed, apart from its function of granting degrees, can only be constituted with us in the several colleges where it is the first organ of the University, which exists not in its machinery only and degrees, but is immanent, is omnipresent, to the last class-room in the labours of teachers and taught and their common studies.

Although a French Faculty, it may be observed, granted degrees, most students graduated in Paris. But as the examiners there, unlike those in London, were themselves professors in a faculty, they discouraged the preference. Perhaps, living under Protection, they thought too little of the evils of monopoly, and disliked a roaring trade in graduates or examination police duty, even with pay, if it injured the University system of their

country. Like the Scots, we here bring external examiners to our students rather than forward several hundreds to London for approval and external degrees. Anyhow, the examination mill is condemned already, because every examiner knows, the more the candidates, the worse his work. It is on an examining tour that Taine reflects: 'In our public examinations and awards we have adopted Chinese manners—the true studies are always disinterested.' The Faculties are their home. And is not the University in Manchester and Liverpool already a federation of two young universities?

Senate and Faculty.

Now, everywhere, the vital organs of the European university are Senate and Faculty; the administration, the last authority of all, being here a Court, a Council, and there the Ministry of Education. Our concern is to appreciate justly and dispassionately the functions of Senate and Faculty, and next their work.

Parallel in France.

It is in France that the modern university has arisen, new on the classic convention. A strange thing, this people which defined the university for the Middle Age, has defined it again for the coming centuries. The elements of it, now as then, are already in other universities: nowhere else is the organic structure so ample, clear and frank.

Since the Revolution, the University there has been in ruin and eclipse; while in Germany, above all, it swept a glorious orbit. Already decadent amid the far-reaching philosophic movement of the eighteenth century, it was suppressed at its one-and-twenty seats, and special or professional schools were instituted. This was not the desire of the reformers. The practical spirit and the immediate want ousted their programme. The old university—it is still hale and active—gave what we now call secondary education in the Faculty of Arts, and professional in the other Faculties. From Paris, the mother of universities, herself the firstborn of the quick and luminous mind of France, that type of the four Faculties spread in the West; but complete or incomplete, flourishing or decayed, the university rose, each in its own city. A century has gone since the dissolution, and now again, at fifteen different points, the new university is established, embracing the special or professional schools in the encyclopaedic design of Mirabeau, Talleyrand, and Condorcet. For it was they who wanted great teaching institutions of all the sciences in co-ordinate groups which elucidate Nature, Society, Man; of the literatures also, the fine arts and the crafts, with libraries, museums, professors, researchers, scholars.

Counterfeit Faculties.

The Empire, indeed, reared the fivefold order of the Faculties—Theology, Law, Medicine, Science, and Literature—but, scattered with a lavish, feeble and random hand, one, two or more, they were the special schools under an ancient name, without the material of education and progress. This counterfeit subsisted in effect amid political change. Often, the professors, few in all, did duty at the Lycée and the Faculty, their teaching an intermediary between examination sessions. A university novelty then, the degree, as with us, became the speciality, and learning died. These professors of the arts and sciences entertained, too, the general public, and what science and what art it costs to retain it! A few remarkable books, a few sets of fine lectures were the net product,—but no pupils, no students, no scholars, no school. The platform professor was defined. A Faculty of Arts, for example, had a large lecture amphitheatre, flanked with a ladies' gallery, a little retiring room for the professor, and a lodge for the attendant. The Sciences were housed as suitably.

In worse case than we ever were, members of weak local colleges, and of that comprehensive abstraction—the University of France—isolated among themselves, few and new, without laboratories or libraries, without buildings, without collections, without appliances or real students, the professors of the French Faculties were called by the press of circumstance to rear the new University. An agitation early arose which drew into it profound and brilliant spirits. Almost all the great names are there. The historians were naturally at the front, from Guizot and Duruy to Lavisse, Dean of the Faculty of Arts of Paris. Victor Cousin among the first touched scornfully the popular professorial lecture and the audience of passage :—'To create Faculties is nothing. They must be made great and strong. It will please you to create one. Very well, a grant will do it; but there is one misfortune : the great professors, who are the life of it, will fail you, and then pupils will not come. You must have evening lectures in order to attract ladies and a certain number of idle men, who will come to seek relaxation from the labours of the day. That is a Faculty of pastime, a sort of athenaeum where a kindly audience comes to listen to a frivolous instruction.' That, he concludes, is not a serious institution where is formed and reared the youth of a great people. The wide issues were swept in light by the winged genius of Renan. His advocacy carried this contemporary question far beyond France. It is the university of a country, he contended, that

makes the school; the primary teacher, they say, has conquered at Sadowa: no, it is German science. Plainly to all, it triumphed afterwards at Sedan. The university movement at any rate became part of the regeneration of France. As early as the autumn of 1871, the vehement spirit of Paul Bert dedicated to Gambetta an impressive pamphlet. City, and state, and department co-operated, and the local colleges expanded in manifold and vital relation with regional life, education and industry.

The University College of Lyons.

It was from the old capital of Roman Gaul, revived by modern commerce, and serious as the industry along her heights and quays, that the claim for a University came insistently :—'If we could obtain for our town the foundation of the first provincial university it would be perhaps a great date in the moral history of our country.' For, springing one after another, and developing subjects and courses, the four Faculties, with 100 teachers and 1,700 students, were at length drawn together to a common work. The municipality had built for them splendidly a whole quarter, and in return for chemists the Chamber of Commerce gave them grants, while the University idea, borne by living agency, so permeated and won all classes, from the press and society to the silk weavers, that a group of these spoke of giving a mandate to the City Council to get a university constituted, and an association, anticipating the law of 1896, was formed under a name which at the time went forth as a watchword and a challenge—'Friends of the Lyons University.'

Liard on Senate and Faculty.

Six years before the crowning victory, the veteran pen of Liard traced the universal transformation of these local colleges into universities. To his work I owe my summary. In 1885, at their various centres, the Faculties got a Senate, where the Rector presided,—a general council in which each was represented by the same number of elected members. What should be its powers? The decree that constituted it followed upon a Report from the Faculties and their Academic Councils, demanded by the Ministry, on the creation in France of universities analagous to those of the other countries of Europe.

Let me reduce for you Liard's official statement of the motives of the decree, based upon the Report, so far as they elucidate our particular inquiry. It is the constitutional principles of the European University he defines :—

On the functions of Senate.

If this council of the Faculties could but express its wishes on all questions relating to advanced instruction, arrange the general syllabus of the courses and conferences in the various Faculties, interpose in the redaction of regulations for the University Library, and in the allocation of funds

given to the Faculties for their common services ; if it could decide on the regulation of supplementary voluntary courses, advise on the maintaining, suppressing, or altering of vacant Chairs, and deliberate on the budget schemes of the Faculties in its province ; lastly, if over the students it exercised jurisdiction,—would it not be the Senate of the German Universities ?

Nor is there any encroachment here on the attributes essential to Faculties. Every Faculty should be master of its teaching and syllabus : this is a principle which we find enunciated in nearly every page of the Report—inscribed in the title-deed of the Faculty. Yet, in the common interest, the courses and work of the Faculties should be arranged so that the Law student might attend the courses of History or Legal Medicine ; the student in History the courses on Roman Law ; the future doctor, for instance, a course of Criminal Law, or the practical work of Chemistry, Physics, or Zoology at the Faculty of Science ; generally, the student must be enabled to leave his speciality. To obtain this, a good understanding between the Faculties will be enough : the Senate will be able to establish it.

The Senate must have the last word, too, upon voluntary courses. Their regulation will no doubt vary from one Faculty to another. This excellent institution, I may parenthetically remark, plainly trains as well as attaches the young graduate to his Faculty.

The regulations of the University Library are still more a matter of general interest. Until now, the University Libraries were the only service in common among the Faculties of the same town. They must not lose this character ; and certainly, when they prepare their regulations, the Senates will not forget that in Germany the library, open to all, is the first institution of the University.

Again, when a chair becomes vacant, other questions of general educational interest for teaching arise. It might be an advantage to alter a chair, when it happens to be vacant, according as science itself is altered—perhaps to establish between the Faculties transitions and exchanges. It is for the Faculties interested to say so, and after them for the Senate, which is the sum of them, and which has the necessary competence and impartiality, to declare it.

In financial matters, each Faculty must do what it has not done hitherto—it must deliberate on its budget and on the administrative reports of its dean. But the respective budgets should be compared and appreciated by an assembly where all should be represented. This is done already by the Academic Council. It will be done less summarily, with more interest, and, it is hoped, with more profit, by the Senate.

Upon the Senate is conferred also a most important prerogative by giving it the right to propose the allocation between the various Faculties of the funds put at their disposal for the common services. Until now, a certain allowance is given to the University Library, another to each Faculty to cover the expenses for lighting, heating, furniture, and scientific collections. Usually, those allowances hardly vary from one session to another. It almost never happened, and one understands why, that a dean should propose to diminish either of these special

allowances. And yet some, perhaps, more than cover the expenses; but that nothing might be suppressed, one hastens, when the session draws to an end, to use everything, even to waste it, whilst more recent services, worse provided, or asking more, remain poor. This would not happen if it could be known what are exactly, for every year, in each Faculty, the varying wants of each service. It would be possible to make common some of these services—the University Library, the collections, furniture, lighting, heating—and the Senate would have all competence and authority to propose the repartition of the funds between those common services.

The experiment, at least, is worth being made. If it fails, things will remain as before; but if it succeeds—and it depends on the Faculties—a great step will have been taken along the way the Faculties wish to follow.

The unity of the Faculties will be still more evident and strong if the student depend, as regards discipline, on the Senate. He should know that his Faculty is not the only one; and a good means to represent to his eyes the union is to make him depend on a tribunal where they all meet. It is also the only means to secure the unity of discipline.

On the Functions of a Faculty.

Next, the time had come to define, as sharply and completely as possible, the rights and attributes of a Faculty. Every Faculty has a double function: it gives advanced teaching, and confers degrees. It is also a body constituted, and a moral agent: hence a certain number of essential attributes.

The most elementary is to have the right to express its wishes on all that pertains to it. A practice of several years has shown the advantages which were for everybody in consulting the Faculties on the affairs which interest them. A step more in this direction will be followed with fresh advantages.

A thing which they ought to dispose entirely is their syllabus, upon condition, of course, that it agree with the general requirements of the examinations. If one cannot imagine a Law Faculty in which Civil Law would not be taught, or a Medical Faculty without practical work in Anatomy, is it clearly understood that in the frame traced by the titles of the chairs, courses, and conferences, the State, the lay authority, might impose particular subjects and distribution? Advanced instruction lives on liberty; anything that would hinder or, indeed, trouble the spontaneity or originality of the teachers would be an evil.

It is then in the Faculty that the syllabus must be worked out; it is in the Faculty that it must be discussed. For three or four years this liberty has been tried without evil results; it must be definitely adopted, allowing it may have disadvantages; the authority best qualified to improve it, would still be the Faculty. In such bodies, conscience and the love of duty increase with responsibility.

It follows in the same order that the Faculties should deliberate on their budget. It is not possible to give them the administration of it, for it is public funds, and public reckonings have rigid rules; but, at least, they should be heard about the partition of allocated funds, with the exception of yearly salaries. Hitherto they have been kept in ignorance of their budgets; some get angry at this, others find there a pretext

not to take interest in common matters. Things will go better if each year the various teachers discuss with their colleagues the wants of their services; the result can only be a more enlightened allocation, and, in the teachers, a greater feeling of the subordination of each to the common work.

As regards the property of Faculties, is it necessary to say that they shall have its entire administration? It is for them to advise on the propriety of accepting or refusing gifts and bequests in their favour, it is for them to regulate for their best interests, but still respecting the will of the benefactor, the use of generosity received. Is it necessary to add that it is for them to draw it forth? One can reckon that they will take care of their own budget and patrimony.

What is a Faculty:—Council and Assembly.

But what exactly is a Faculty? Some will answer: the body of professors with the title; others, the body of teachers. Both are right. There are some questions on which the professors alone should have a right to vote; there are others on which it would be unjust and improper for them not to call the lecturers in charge of course and conference, to deliberate along with them. Whosoever teaches regularly in the Faculty has a right to be heard on questions of teaching; but only such as are immovable have a title to represent the Faculty in what is fixed and permanent. Hence the distinction between the Council and the Assembly of the Faculty. The council is the whole body of professors who hold a chair; the Assembly is the whole body of teachers who have the degree. The Council is the body constituted, the moral person; it deliberates on everything that belongs to the essential attributes of the body which it constitutes, and the personality it has received: on the acceptance of gifts, bequests, and grants; on the use of income and the revenue from these; on the ordinary budget of the Faculty, and on the administrative accounts of the dean; on vacancies in chairs; on maintaining, suppressing, or transforming these; on the transference or appointment of professors; on regulations as to the attendance of students; and on examinations. The Assembly, on the other hand, is the teaching Faculty; it deliberates on everything which concerns the teaching, particularly on the syllabus of courses and conferences, on the distribution of teaching, of research, and of voluntary courses. The Professors Emeriti, whose experience is valuable, are part of the Assembly, and have a vote; the supplementary lecturers charged with courses and conferences are part of it also, and can be consulted. The Assembly elects the delegates of the Faculty to the Senate, and along with the Senate it presents the Dean.

So far, M. Liard. And in effect, our own Senate here has the powers he defines for the Senate of a University. And if our Senate, why not our Faculty?

The Scottish University, Edinburgh.

Let us turn to Edinburgh. The Scottish type is the continental, and has exercised a wide influence through the empire. Its University Court compares with our Council, its Senate with our Senate, its Faculty with our Faculty. The

Universities' Royal Commission now sitting constituted Faculties of Science in 1893, but before then the Science professors at Edinburgh formed a standing committee which acted like a Faculty, their convener as its dean. What are the relations there? It is a standing order of the Senate that business specially relating to a Faculty, and requiring special report, shall be remitted to that Faculty, which arranges also and conducts examinations, reporting to the Senate upon them and upon the failure of holders of scholarships, etc., and makes recommendations for the surplus funds. There are these standing committees besides—a House Committee, a Library Committee, and a Finance Committee. The professorial members of the Local Examinations Board are also appointed annually. There is likewise a committee of the Principal and Deans. Such then is another model, illustrious enough, at our doors.

University College, London.

Lastly, at University College, London, whose constitution and rank are nearest our own, the professors are divided into Faculties of Arts and Laws and Science, who choose their deans, while each Faculty is empowered to meet and to discuss any business relating thereto. And it is from this college, strong now also in Council, and co-operant through representation, that the baffled movement for a University in London started and goes on. For the style and spirit of a university are there.

II

University of Paris:—Reinauguration

And now, getting clear of the relations and functions of Senate and Faculty, let us contemplate the new structure where they subsist. It is in France, as I have said, that the modern university has risen: in France also it has been defined. And never better than a year ago when, in the great hall of the Sorbonne, a magnificent assembly met under the President of the Republic to reinaugurate the University of Paris. To right and left were the Government, the foreign embassies, Parliament, the Judicature, the Ministry of Education, the Municipal Council; in front, the Senate, the professors of the Faculties and of a score of famous professional schools, while 600 students represented 10,000 of their number, still in mediaeval phrase, the body of the University. After Gounod's *Super flumina Babylonis* came first the masterly discourse of M. Gréard, Principal or Rector in effect before, an administrator who saw a long enterprise consummated. In his reference there to the distinctive work of our own city and of the other two cities

of our own University, so recent, so little known, we acknowledge the note of a national temper where generosity is also intelligence, and the quality is not strained. He and the speakers that followed him were worthy that impressive and splendid scene. From the ancient stage of the most illustrious university of history, like another Athene new-born fully armed, they presented the idea of the modern university in all its scope—its double work, educational and scientific, liberal and professional, its diverse studies and single method, its organization and unity, its various adaptation to its environment and roots there. Like every great idea, the elements are simple, germinal, fruitful of new application in fresh soils. Every paragraph has a voice for us, the voice of our experience or our hope. Reduced in translation here less than the rest, the speech of M. Gréard ran :—

The idea of the modern University.

Gréard.

On the morrow of the imperial decree of 1808, the Faculties of the Arts and Sciences were, even at Paris, hardly more than examining boards. They had neither a professional nor a scientific character. Composed of distinct elements, they had barely a corporate existence. The glory shed on the Sorbonne by those masters who were its light it would not be allowable here to forget. Goethe, in his retreat at Weimar, had the lectures of Villemain, of Guizot, and of Cousin sent to him. But if such talents did high honour to the liberal spirit which had awakened them, they could not suffice to found the future of a system of education. Their very popularity risked throwing it off the line. The home of advanced education, the home, too, of science, this was the double end which was clearly determined from the first hour by the great spirit of reform of 1789 ; it is there the higher teaching must be recalled. And such is the thought which has inspired all attempts at organization in the course of the present century ; such has been the object of the effort, at once patient and resolute, energetic and supple, as powerfully directed as it was followed skilfully for twenty years, from which our charter has come.

Restoration of the University.

If the name of the University has been restored to honour, it is because no other could express with more precision the idea of the exalted harmony which ought to direct and preside over advanced education. To fortify, to expand the intelligence, to throw it open on every side to the daylight upon the fields of human knowledge, to make it understand their unity—is not this the first essential, the very foundation of an instruction destined to form masters or learned men, and solicitous to establish itself with authority ? Where formerly speculation, without experiment, and incomplete, marked merely the multiplicity and apparent incoherence of natural phenomena, modern science reveals more clearly every day the unity of the principle of life : it moves toward those heights of which d'Alembert spoke, where the universe appears to man as a unique point and a single truth.

Senate and Faculties.

To-day, the organization of the Universities represents the concord of these studies where all the elements are held. Instead of the ill-advised

independence which isolated each chair in a Faculty, each Faculty from the whole of the Faculties, there has succeeded the spirit of co-operation and cohesion, embodied in councils proper to each of them, and in a common council, where the interests of the different instruction may be sustained, clarified, and mingled.

Their work.

A school of general culture, the University is, at the same time, according to the word attached by M. Victor Duruy to the happiest of his creations, a *practical* school. In every order of study, the lecture, purely theoretical and mental, of which Claud Bernard wittily complained as a survival of scholasticism, is now no more than a memory. No chair without laboratories. The Faculty of Arts itself has its workrooms, where the criticism of texts and documents is elaborated, and where methods are discussed. Doubtless, it is not given to all to receive this teaching. To go to the University, as they say in other countries, will always be the privilege of the few.

But besides the fact that there is no interest more urgent for a democracy than the creation of an *élite*, the benefit of education by the Faculties is not confined to those whom it touches directly. If the spring is too high for all to drink, it spreads of itself plenty around. By the channels which unite the great reservoirs of national instruction in the varying degrees, by the teachers it creates and the book which it inspires, by all the seeds of new utilities which it sheds, the higher education extends its influence even to the village school, where, with simpler methods, it will now bring a surer knowledge and a more suitable. Stablished in itself and for itself, the University is the Council of all other ranges of education.

Faculty of Science and Technical Education.

And yet this professional service, however important, only fulfils a part of its work. An English statesman, a man of true learning and who has participated in the greatest affairs of his time, said to me, on visiting our Faculty of Science: 'This is the temple of the great discoveries, and your real Palace of Industry.' In this homage did he think simply of inclining respectfully to the memory of Pasteur and our masters of yesterday, or of welcoming with joyful confidence the ingenious researches of our masters to-day? I imagine that his thought returned also to his own country, to that treaty of alliance which Industry has there concluded with Science, and which is in train to renovate the world. Is it not, indeed, a spectacle singularly worthy of attention—these powerful organs of technical education created in the centres of the most intense commercial activity, at Liverpool, at Manchester, and at Leeds—in those very places where beats, so to speak, the pulse of the English people? The calculations of the scholar issue for the application of the engineer: the workshop is welded to the school.

Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds.

Applied Chemistry and Zoology.

For us, too, science has entered this way. In 1865, the creation of the first laboratory for scientific research, that of Henry St. Claire Deville, came as a shock to superficial minds. On seeing factory chimneys rise in the midst of the learned Sorbonne they smiled, and called the school of the high studies the school of the high chimneys. No one is surprised to-day that the whole Faculty is a vast works, a marvel of adaptation to the diversity of products, scientific as well as elegant, and that it includes

in its domain, a few steps from here, a laboratory of applied chemistry; and on the shore of the sea, at Roscoff and at Banyuls, laboratories of marine zoology.

Local Interests. It is the original and fruitful characteristic of our University organization that, along with that instruction which is the common groundwork of scientific education, there may be combined, in all the necessary variety, the instruction which responds to regional interests, and makes available, at every point, the natural wealth as well as the genius of France. We have already, we shall have more and more, courses which lead to nothing—I mean which lead to no degree, but which will supply for the great currents of industrial activity—to follow or to guide it—spirits, sound and open, fashioned to understand the multiple needs of civilised life.

Critical Method in Arts and Law. This sentiment of the relation of the higher studies with life does not, however, belong exclusively to scientific research. History, philosophy, literature, law, it has permeated them all. Trained to go back to the sources, to interrogate documents which a well-digested erudition prepares, to observe, not the reflection of things, but the things themselves, the critical spirit, as modern thought has created it, sheds upon all it examines the living light of the past on the present, of theories on facts, and contributes to the education of the public conscience. Like the natural sciences, the moral have become great schools of truth. It is not alone the sincerity of their methods which has transformed them. The very matter of which they treat is being modified.

Political and Social Sciences. Not one of the interests by which we live is foreign to them. Less than twenty years ago, would anyone have dared even mention the name of the social sciences in the Sorbonne? Now, they have their own place there, and a place which will expand. Where could they be studied with more serenity? Life sweeps us along; in the rush which hurries with it contemporary society, how many are there who have leisure to meditate on those questions upon which the future depends, how many are there whom early education has prepared to solve the difficulties which arise? We are not here to create state doctrines, but simply to collect and arrange the elements of a science founded on principles, enlightened by history, open to all discussion,—a science which takes cognizance alike of the intangible conditions and the imperfections, ever to be remedied, of human society; fitted, in a word, to form the ideas and morals of free people who wish to remain capable and worthy of their estate.

City and University. What we are to-day, we shall be that and more to-morrow. We owe it to the co-operation of the town of Paris, whose aid is ever lent to liberal effort, that a durable hospitality is assured us. The last works on the Medical Faculty are about to begin; the Faculty of Law is being finished; within three years the Sorbonne will be complete. The University of Paris will be at home. And the free resources with which the law, ingeniously far-sighted, permits her to enrich herself, will not fail us. Our Golden Book is open. We have our first benefactors, and we are happy to express our gratitude to them. Justly proud of the favour which surrounds her, the University of Paris has a profound sense of all the duties which her part lays upon her. She is ready to sustain the honour.

M. Alfred Rambaud, once a Professor of History, now Minister of Public Instruction and the Fine Arts, continued :— Rambaud :— The Revival of France.

The work, the achievement of which we are celebrating to-day, has in its development kept pace with the renovation of our popular education. It has sprung from that heroic and miraculous effort, unique perhaps in the history of the world, through which a nation, whose rivals believed they had only to secure her definite effacement, has been able to reappear to them more powerful than ever.

The progress of all our education has only been one aspect of the revival of our country. The breath of resurrection has passed alike over the school and over the army.

In 1883 one of my predecessors, Jules Ferry, formulated with admirable precision the programme of our common task : 'We should have obtained a great result if we could one day constitute universities, combining for their mutual aid the most varied instruction, managing their own affairs, penetrated with their work and their worth, inspiring one another with ideas peculiar to each part of France in such variety as the unity of the country allows, rivals of the neighbouring Universities. . . . I do not disguise that time is necessary for such success ; that in this sort of enterprise, however legitimate be the ambition, nothing must be precipitated, nothing risked.' Provincial Universities.

This method it is that has been followed. Nothing has been precipitated, nothing risked. The word has not been pronounced before the thing existed. We did not ask for 'legal realities' until we were in possession of 'living realities.' Custom has anticipated law. Rapid Progress :— The Living Realities.

First, the Faculties have been taken one by one. Their buildings have been reconstructed, the accommodation, which Jules Simon called so wretched, has been destroyed. Laboratories have been made, libraries accumulated. The teaching staff has been remodelled, increased in number, raised in value. To them were no longer given audiences of passage, but seminaries of pupils. The number of our students rose, in ten years, from 16,000 to almost 26,000. As in the days when Mont Sainte Geneviève shone like a Sinai, you see crowd round our chairs young people of every nation, even of nations whose very names were unknown to mediaeval France, nations newly born to history, all attracted to France by her teaching, whose renown has lasted eight centuries.

When these Faculties, once languishing, had recovered life and activity, then only was the grouping of them undertaken. At first we proceeded not by organic laws, but by articles inserted in the law of finance, and by decrees. These granted to the Faculties, afterwards to the groups of Faculties, civil personality, created an entire system of autonomous administration and elective councils.

During some years there existed something that had no name, or the name of which no longer corresponded with the reality : 'nameless institutions,' to quote a word spoken at Lyons at the same time as other words which rang through all University France, as words of hope and life.

New Universities :— July, 1896.

To these nameless institutions the law of July, 1896, has given a name ; to this ' body of Faculties,' where a soul seemed to be denied, it recognised a soul.

The name is ancient. It goes back well beyond the year 1200 and the famous charter of Philip Augustus. Our old universities have during nearly seven centuries of history undergone many vicissitudes. They had their periods of splendour, when their voice made itself listened to through entire Europe ; the periods of decadence, when they heard high the stern remonstrances of parliaments and kings. Their crime was their keeping themselves too much outside the progress of science, outside the intellectual current, and the current became so strong it swept them away. After all is said the name remains glorious : it is bound to our whole national past ; it is quite French, quite ours ; we have only lent it to others ; and we keep the right to revive it as an authentic title of very ancient nobility.

Is it necessary to add that if the name is ancient it is to an essentially modern thing we mean to apply it ?

What more different than the University of the past and that of to-day ?

The university of the thirteenth century distributed into tight compartments the different instruction it gave and the scholars who received this ; it raised impassable barriers between theology and medicine, between law and what was called ' the arts, ' between lay and clergy. What we demand from the university of the nineteenth century is precisely internal unity, the necessary ' union of the sciences,' according to the expression of Diderot.

The modern university does not propose to produce men who know everything but know it badly, belated counterfeits of Pico della Mirandola, collectors of diplomas and parchments ; nor does it intend to produce doctors who will be merely doctors, lawyers, humanists, scholars, enslaved to one single branch of study. No, for that would be reducing the liberal education *par excellence* to a trade-training, at a time when even for those who are destined for trade we are trying to organize a liberal system of education.

Their Aim and Work.

The concentration of the most diverse studies in the university has precisely for its aim the allowing all to acquire, at the same time, the exact knowledge which makes the excellent technician, and the general knowledge which makes the really cultivated man.

The best specialist will still be he who will put at the service of his speciality serious notions on all the neighbouring domains, a curiosity always awake, the habit of method and the taste for research, a large and harmonious development of mind, a philosophic view of man and the universe—in a word, the sentiment that all sciences tend to one common end, which shall be science. *E pluribus una.*

The modern universities of France will not shut themselves in those temples of serene wisdom of which the poet speaks. They will not isolate themselves from society, they will not, while teaching the sciences, which in themselves are their ground of existence, think it beneath them to pursue the scientific application. They pride themselves on men who, from the most arduous and profound research, have been able to deduce practical results, by which the national wealth has been greatly increased.

This 'school of the high chimneys,' of which M. Gréard spoke just now, has swarmed across France. There are to-day very few of our Faculties of Science which do not embrace instruction of this kind. At Bordeaux we have a laboratory of chemistry applied to viticulture and the industries which derive from it; at Lyons a laboratory of chemistry applied to the dyeing of silks; at Nancy a laboratory of brewery; at Besançon, the centre of our watch-making industry, a chronometrical observatory. Everywhere, according to the character and necessities of each district, are laboratories and chairs either of industrial or agricultural chemistry. Applications of Science and Arts.

The same for the Faculties of Arts. They have chairs for the study of local history, of the languages and literature of the neighbouring peoples, of local idioms, of provincial literature and art.

Thus our higher education, in contact with the different French populations, tends to become local. It adapts itself to the environment where it is called to do its work. It realises what Jules Ferry had foreseen and longed for. It is so one of the glories of our great country, and at the same time it creates centres of intellectual life in each of our little native lands. It wins not only our sympathies but our interests. It takes root simultaneously in all French ground, and draws there, with the sap of the soil, the force to endure and to extend. The departments and towns of France, and in the first rank the town of Paris, have already responded to its efforts with ample liberality. Defined by the Locality.

My dear colleagues,—the new universities will be what we make them. It is for the professors, for the students, to keep them living and active. Some years ago it was said that we had been carried away by a high-sounding word; let us show that under that word there was already, and there is now more than ever, a reality.

Parliament has had full confidence in us. Without restraining competition and efficacious protection by the State, it has granted us much more extensive subsidies, a larger autonomy.

And now, after so many marks of solicitude on the part of the public authorities and the head of the State, here we are receiving a new and more striking. The festivals of the old University of Paris, while glorious names of kings still mingled in its history, never offered anything comparable with the ceremony of to-day.

The higher education of France knows all it owes to the Republic: when we remember its past miseries we might say it owes her almost its very existence. This debt to the nation and the Republic we shall know how to discharge. For the national idea the universities of France will not do less than did the universities of neighbouring nations. Contemporaries of the restoration of France, associated with her trials, her hopes, her renascent greatness, they will be in peace as in struggle a living energy of our country, a resplendent manifestation of her intellectual power.

The President of the Municipal Council of Paris, M. Pierre Baudin, followed:— Baudin, Mayor of Paris, on City and University.

The brilliance of this ceremony attests its importance; but were it only to celebrate a change of name, we ought to recognise that certain names are in themselves a spell and a power.

Consider what has happened since the promulgation of the law of the 11th July last in towns provided with a corporation of Faculties.

The forces of emulation and local patriotism, which the law evoked, gathered strength suddenly.

It was at this point the Parisians were roused; Was the prosperity of the great city then threatened? But the University of Paris has nothing to fear from competition. Were she less prepared for these fruitful struggles of science for science, she would yet be invincible, for all Paris is her incomparable auxiliary.

The heady movement of affairs, the extreme diversity of relations, the tumultuous ardour of debate, the manifold manifestations of political, literary and artistic life, are so many factors of mutual education and instruction; the streets of the city, its squares, its monuments, its walks, so many pages of national history.

There is not a town in France assuredly, in the whole world, perhaps, where are condensed so many sentiments and ideas, not one where the general intelligence is more keen or more comprehensive.

Paris, worker of emancipation and truth, by her schools from the most elementary to the most learned, by her libraries, her museums, her conservatoires, her academies, her theatres, her galleries, her newspaper offices, the debates of her assemblies, is radiating ceaselessly in an atmosphere vibrating with light and thought.

It is this colossal accumulation of intellectual capital and of active good will, this co-operation of all—thinkers, artists, representatives of the nation or of the city—in the effort to realise a humanity more gentle and beautiful, more conscious to its aims and of its duties, which, as much as its own merit, assures to the University of Paris her supremacy and glory.

To the Students.

And you, young men, will you allow an old comrade who is still your friend to say to you:—

The new era which commences brings new manners. The Parisian democracy is intelligent and generous, its contact is strengthening. Associate with it more, mingle more intimately in its life; it will give you back more than it is in your power to give.

To the youth who used to press around his chair at the College of France Michelet said: 'The evil of the world is in this,—there is an abyss between you and the people.'

Such words would be exaggerated to-day. The abyss is now only a gap. To cross it, the inspirations of your heart will be enough, and the sentiment of your responsibility to the future.

Lavisse:—Change in Method of Teaching and of Examinations.

Then M. Ernest Lavisse to the students, he who has breathed into them his soul:—

If you could compare the old *régime* of our higher education with the new, these are the principal differences you would discover:—First of all, the most apparent, that of actual accommodation. Higher education used to be uncommonly ill lodged. It grieves us to speak slightingly of the old places where we lived as students and as professors, the first blows of the pickaxe on our ancient walls were painful to us. Was it our old quarters that we regretted or was it our youth? I think it must

have been our youth. Love of self has subtle turns; what we take for worship of the past is often worship of ourselves. Truly we were too cramped in these ancient houses, and it was dark and gloomy there.

To-day Mont Sainte Geneviève is covered with our palaces; the provincial university towns almost all have their palaces too, and palaces cost a deal of money. Has the higher education then made its fortune? Yes; by an admirable unanimous movement Parliament, the towns, the departments have given her a royal dowry, and it is the manifest sign of the respect of our country for science and of the confidence of our country in science.

Penetrate into these magnificent buildings: there you will find vast and well-equipped laboratories, great libraries, and, beside lecture-halls, research rooms for conference. Our ancient Faculties were above everything houses of instruction; the masters worked in some corner—and what corners! If I were to describe to you the laboratories of the great and illustrious men of former days you would not believe your ears. No laboratories for pupils; and what good would research rooms for conference have been in Faculties where masters and pupils did not meet? Our new Faculties are places for work: that is still a novelty. Laboratories, Libraries, Research Rooms of Conference.

Let us compare instruction at these two dates. I must in the first place, to be just, recognise and declare that in the former staff there were men who, coming back among us, would head and shoulders surpass us; but it is not a question of personal worth. The method of teaching has greatly changed. Your masters are much less than formerly orators *ex cathedra;* we have come down from our chairs, or if we stay there, we speak in a tone less lofty. We affirm less than formerly; we demonstrate, we point; we say to you: Listen, see, judge. The courses are much more numerous; a placard of one Faculty to-day would cover all the placards together of the Faculties formerly, and swamp them. Among our branches of instruction there are some which have no obligatory sanction in the examinations, and are purely scientific; the day will come, we hope, when every science, every scientific study will be represented in our University. Formerly it was our function to teach science already made; at present, we contribute on our part to make it.

Lastly, if you were to compare the examinations formerly with those to-day you would see that, little by little, we have introduced into them, along with proofs destined to secure general knowledge, others in which you show your aptitude for personal scientific work. You see then that everywhere, in every way, we convoy you to activity.

These reforms, which more or less rapidly have been accomplished or are being accomplished in all the Faculties, have morally brought them together. At the time when they were merely bodies for teaching and awarding degrees, with a view to very different functions, there was no need for them to know each other. They only found themselves together on the paper of annual reports and at ceremonies where the Rector advanced, followed by the four Faculties. But to-day you see the bond which attaches them. In each there is found this double office: to transmit acquired knowledge and to seek new. Everywhere you are initiated in science as it is to-day, and in the methods of making science. We transmit to you the heritage of your predecessors, and we give you the means to increase it. You learn where we are now and the way to go further.

The Faculties a Corporation of Research.

In all our Faculties problems are studied, widely differing but alike in this, that they are problems of which the solution is sought according to method. There are many of these problems the *data* for which are not contained in the single frame of any one of our Faculties; in our old frames we have made openings. Above them has arisen, or rather—for the evolution is not yet complete—is rising that idea of the knowledge in which and by which we are united. It is so that after a long effort well directed and sustained, having left the isolated and self-sufficing Faculty, we have reached the University. Professors and students of all the Faculties, we form in fact one corporation—that is the primitive meaning of the word university—the corporation of free and perpetual research.

III

The Faculty of Arts in Liverpool.

Such is the modern university, rising four-square to the twentieth century. How do we in our Faculty stand? The Needs of the Faculty of Arts are:

	Endowments.	Present Payment.
Chair of German[1]	£12,000	Guarantee of £375, plus ⅔ fees.
Chair of French[2]	12,000	Guarantee of £400, met by fees (£308).
Chair of Education[3]	3,000	£50, plus City Grant of £225.
Lecturer on English Language[4] ...	7,500	Guarantee of £150, met by fees (£115).
Lecturer on Geography[5]	7,500	
Assistant Lecturer in Greek[6]	5,600	Assistant Lecturer in Latin and Greek, £220.
Assistant Lecturer in Latin[6]	5,600	
Assistant Lecturer in History[7] ...	5,600	
Reader in Local History and Charters[8]	1,600	
Assistant Lecturer in Philosophy[9] ...	5,600	
Assistant in English Literature[10] ...	5,600	
Library and equipment	10,000	
Museum of Archaeology, in connection with the City School of Architecture, etc.	3,000	
15 Scholarships (fees £20). One half restricted to Schools of Liverpool and district	28,000	
Exhibition Fund to assist 5 free Students	3,200	
	£115,800	

1. Finally endowed 1903. [Ed.]
2. Founded 1905. [Ed.]
3. Founded (unendowed) 1899. [Ed.]
4. Chair founded 1904. [Ed.]
5. Established (unendowed). [Ed.]
6. Now (1914) one in Greek, three in Latin (unendowed). [Ed.]
7. Chair of Modern History founded 1906. [Ed.]
8. Lectureship in Palaeography and Diplomatics founded. [Ed.]
9. Now (1914) an independent Lecturer (unendowed). [Ed.]
10. Now (1914) an Associate-Professor (unendowed) and an Assistant Lecturer. [Ed.]

Briefly, we are a Faculty without a budget, without books indispensable, without appliance and critical material for class teaching and for practical work in conference or seminary, without assistants. Surrounded by modern laboratories, we are enforced to a method of teaching, scholastic in every sense; always supported by the solace, so weird in a University, and so incongruous among our colleagues, that on our fees we are self-supporting. The literary side of the College, Jowett wrote to the promoters of one in a less city, should not be starved or neglected, for it is likely to be the largest. Indeed, books, our obvious apparatus, furniture, equipment, are due under the deed of settlement in our charter from the General Fund. Among our benefactors who have laid the foundation of a University library, we commemorate the late Canon Hume, the late Rev. J. Hamilton Thom, the late Mr. George Holt, the Rev. S. A. Thompson Yates and Mr. Henry Tate.

But from chair and lectureship we have under grants from the City Council thrown out in living relation to the city—a Training College, a City School of Architecture and Applied Art, and a City Evening School of Commerce. The last is our important work this session; for it relates us to the very life of the city, and shall attract to our classrooms many youth of the commercial houses for an education, liberal and practical. It is promoted by the Chamber of Commerce, whose President and Secretary have actively co-operated. The programme includes Modern Languages, Geography in relation to British commerce, Economic Science, the Practice of Commerce, and Mercantile Law. While access for the many to a high systematic training in the living languages needs no advocate, the scientific study of the problems of commerce and finance, as momentous as they are intricate, and bearing too upon History and Geography, upon the Political and Social Sciences, should have a place second to none in the University in this city.

So, then, in education—in the training of teachers for the elementary schools and the secondary, in architecture and the other arts and crafts, and in commercial instruction, we have in our quarter established the University on three professional schools, managed, two of them, by boards representative of City and University. This principle and practice should be definitely and completely applied in all the Faculties. So a great city shall have a great University.

More vital and wider still are our relations with the secondary schools of the district, classical, modern, technical, upon which we must rise. Without endowments or adequate grants,

without organization, the classical and modern are in far worse plight than we; and everywhere the British University, in elementary courses, is doing their proper work. But it is the university of a country, as Renan said, that makes the school. We must co-operate on a programme, on action to a common end, which is education; and together delimitate our bounds. In other countries all that has been done; and in France under the Ministry of Education, through the local University. Accordingly the Faculty considered the institution by the University, in concert with the schools, of a system of leaving certificates, the higher of which should give entrance to all the Faculties, together with a system of examination and visits. The Head Master of the Liverpool Institute wrote in support. The matter is now before a Committee of the University.[1]

One paragraph in this connection on Entrance Scholarships. Altogether in the Faculty there are four. Next year there is one open. A few are common to Science and to Arts. Enough to say we have, all the same, fifteen Free Studentships, in other words, fifteen Exhibitions at the expense of the Professors of the Faculty. Further, in order to encourage the University student in the Faculty of Law, which has no Entrance Scholarship at all, the Arts Faculty opened its four Scholarships to Law candidates, and a Law student holds one. Now in Germany and in France, as in Scotland, there are many Scholarships at the large universities and the small. At Aberdeen, for instance, there are every year about forty Scholarships, varying from £10 to £30, open to students commencing their studies in the Faculty of Arts; and over forty more under private patronage. Besides, our fees are much higher than in Universities of our type in Europe, and perhaps one-fifth more than in America.

There is our Faculty, constituted after fifteen years, *grande spatium mortalis aevi*—these its problems, its work and wants. What shall it be in the future?

The European and the American University.

I desire to see the European University rise in England, and not the repellent American type—the University of history, as we have seen it spring from the ashes of its earliest hearth; with the stamp and style and courage of ancient breeding, with rank and gradation and ceremony established in equality and freedom. First in London, where scattered college and professional school only await as lately at Paris, an awakening of the public mind and powerful administrative hands. Mean-

1. Not yet realised. [Ed.]

while, in the next imperial city, whose University College is already a University, our Council, Senate, and Faculties defined and adapted to our rapid expansion, can constitute an organic, an effective, and a dignified polity. A professor of history in England, I cannot profess myself superior to free and representative government, even when composed of professors and lecturers, dealing with their daily business, with the regulations of their trade, and not with the fortunes of empires. Nor can our students breathe the atmosphere of a University, except where circulates the breath of liberty and the exercise of rights that are duties. In their own societies, organized by them on the lines of the Faculties, and in their Representative Council which, for good fellowship of an evening, can assemble 600 of themselves and their friends, they have recovered an inalienable claim of their predecessors. For all that—autonomy, I mean, and representation was in the mediaeval University, in the Faculty before it was in civil society.

The defect in the American type, without disparagement to its virtue, is not that it has through ignorance and isolation, through modern specialism and overpowering commercial habit, broken with a very ancient nobility of the human spirit, dissolving needlessly a classic and symmetric structure into a *débris* of classes and lectures and petty inconsequent committees, but that the University across that continent is not, as once in feudal, and now in democratic Europe, a hearth and a home of autonomy on every range, a training ground consecrate to self-government. The benevolent Council of Trustees, whose true inwardness, as they say, is to raise money, the President with his office whence he fetches for them the communications of his disfranchised staff, what a contrast to the ceremony and practice in Paris !

For outside it is not coteries, but representation also in true extension on the administrative Council and professional school, that alone can satisfy and win great cities, their complex educational interests, and their municipal pride. After fifteen years we may be allowed to know our bearings and follow our star. Throughout the unending streets, so dreary to the eye, and still established on toil continual and human virtue, a new University, wide-rooted in their midst, and administered, governed, and constituted in the ancient freedom, can alone radiate education ; all the professions educated within it, all the schools bound to it as to their heart and head. Itself a harmony of faculties, as Professor Raleigh once defined it,

where, as here, the graduates of Paris, of Oxford and Cambridge, of Siena, of Leipsic, of St. Andrews and Glasgow, of Gratz and Bonn, in a familiar polity find their Salamis in a new land.

Then, ennobled by the same service, like a corps newly raised, the modern university, great and strong and free as the city of its birth, with her name, and become part of her and her renown, will rank with the ancient of the kingdom, with that pair unique in the world *sua sidera norunt*, the freest of all, who are *almae matres* to many of us as they may be hereafter in special courses to graduates of the new university in all the cities of the English speech. But even beyond the far-borne bounds of our speech and breed, the University now, along with civilization of which it is so powerful an organ, is also at the ends of the earth—

Litus ut longe resonante Eoa
Tunditur unda—

for flourishing cities everywhere renew its youth, enlarging its bounds with every advancement of knowledge beyond a princely scholar's dream, while it still keeps as its first vestal fire its government of equal laws, all those long-incorporate traditions and forms and energies of spiritual freedom, which through eight centuries have been its property and strength.

APPENDIX IV

THE LOCAL UNIVERSITY AND THE LOCAL AUTHORITY: A FORECAST OF LIVERPOOL[1]

On Lord Rosebery's 'clean slate' you may have noticed this morning that Education has the second place. Now the unanimity with which the idea of a University has been projected here lays us under an impressive debt. The University is likely to be comprehensive of the learned and scientific needs of a commercial city,—in Carlyle's phrase, a sea-haven of the world. But as the chief educational institution, the well-head of the whole living stream, its first duty is to the schools here of every sort. They are the foundations and lower stories of all the edifice. In the exaltation to a University of a local college, there should go a general accompanying elevation of the whole educational structure of the locality.

Up to date, what do we see? Fulness here, starvation there, everywhere overlapping! An encroachment of the Universities on the secondary schools, an encroachment of the primary schools on the secondary, an encroachment of technical colleges on the others. Some endowed, most unendowed. Imperial grants for the natural sciences and their application in the schools of our youth, and no grants at all for the sovereign literature and history of the imperial people.

What is significant however—the life and hope of the whole situation—is that the demand for a local University coincides with the demand for a local authority. The result of their conjoint creation will be a complete organization of education on the spot. As the University will have its courses, curriculum and term of years, so the secondary schools will have theirs; as the University will have freedom to set its own programme and to appoint its examiners, so the secondary schools, adequately staffed, will be free. Lastly, as the University requires money grants for its existence, so, too, the schools. The State and the Locality which maintain the one will maintain the other. They are one organism.

Hitherto, along the many storied structure of national education, the vaunted educational ladder, planted thirty

1. Delivered at University College to the Teachers' Guild.

years ago, went, for all but a very few, nowhere : or it tapered to a vanishing point. First, then, the system of scholarships must be extended through all our provincial order, so that there will be a ' stairway,' as one called it in this hall, from the primary school to the secondary, and thence to the University —a stairway not all of examination papers. It was a Lancashire statesman, Sir Robert Peel, who, addressing the students of a Scottish University some seventy years ago, exclaimed : ' The pathways to distinction are open, the avenues to learning are free.' It is true that along the avenues were few of his own people. The want of interest in education is national, where there is neither knowledge of it nor profit from it. It is a multitude of living links that rivet and recommend a national system.

Now, in the interest of the public intelligence, and, as they used to say, of the public morality, in the interests, too, of the youth to whom this University will open every career, the teaching and the training of teachers is the first business of the new University. Were it founded for no other reason, in this there is reason enough. You hear it said, ' you shall have here a fine School of Engineering, a School of Medicine.' No doubt ; but the seers forget that there is a profession far larger than either—the foundation of all—the profession of education. A profession, I fancy, as important.

To prepare the young primary teacher for the University, he must have, then, what he has not, both time to learn, and an education as good as in a first-rate secondary school. As a minimum, the Pupil Teachers' College must rank as such. Otherwise, as now, he is handicapped from the start. But all primary teachers cannot be graduates. Neither, indeed, for the profession of teaching, nor for any other profession, will the University courses, if they are genuine, serve wholly. Beside the new University there will be a Polytechnic. For the Polytechnic student there should be a diploma, for the University student a degree. The business of a University is to give advanced instruction and training, critical or scientific. The business of the Polytechnic is more practical. But the general courses of the University should, wherever possible, be followed by the Polytechnic student. The University student or graduate, on the other hand, will go for the abundant application of his theory and science to the Polytechnic. Hence the advantage of their intimate association, supplementary not competitive, united and yet distinct.

In our city and district the educational sections, so to say, of our Polytechnic exist already in our training colleges. These can be increased, strengthened and amplified. The demand is clamant. The University courses should know neither primary nor secondary candidates : and graduates should pass indifferently to either and every grade. The technical student should, however, have subsequently the opportunity, which many seek, of University study and a degree, through evening lectures and professorial direction covering a number of years. His degree should be ordinarily upon University study in his own city, not upon so-called University examination in some one or other unknown capital—London or Dublin.

For all secondary school teachers a degree is obviously essential, not, however, the Grammar School degree, which there is such anxiety in some quarters to keep up, but a degree for which no coaching establishment outside or inside a University can prepare, because the coaching establishment can afford neither the staff requisite nor the equipment. Everybody knows that the immense advance in German education during the last fifty years has come from the critical and scientific instruction of the secondary teachers in the universities and on the ordinary courses. They teach because they are scholars, they have, of course, technical training besides. Now the distinctive methods of the German University have conquered the main European system, barring Great Britain and Ireland. In the United States, too, under the same influences, many colleges have in a generation been transformed into Universities. In order that the new University may attain their level in method and specialisation, all school work within it must cease, and all coaching. The coach, I believe, is indigenous to our British system. To the University the undergraduate must come with the elements of a liberal education from the place whose business it is to give it—the secondary school. What a surprise if the new University, so far from lowering degrees, should inaugurate here and multiply a method and a standard of study which now passes knowledge ! A University is not a unity of examinations upon a common programme, it is a unity of staff, equipment, students, not in a calendar, but in a corporation, as one has said, of free and perpetual research. The public, even graduates, cannot understand the difference between a University and a secondary school, or a coach-house, if there is none. Thirty years ago Mark Pattison wrote :—

> The University has placed itself in a position with regard to the pass men, that is to say of her whole scholars, in which no reason can be shown why their presence in her lecture rooms should be required at all. For as the pass standard requires no special knowledge, such as can be possessed only by professors, but is equally shared by hundreds of teachers, masters in schools, clergy and others up and down the country, the preparation can be more conveniently and cheaply made at home. The University can still do all it does at present—examine and give the degree . . . the letters B.A. have merely a social value . . .

He was writing of Oxford. Let it, he says, become the home of science and the representative of the best learning of the time, and what is now called a pass degree will be seen at once to be an incongruity. School is the place where the attainments now required should be found. The University should cease the pass business altogether.

We come, then, in the end, where everyone does, to the secondary school. But from above, from the idea of the University which exacts as its condition of entrance a preliminary liberal education for every industrial career. The new thing is that the Local Authority will enforce it. A great city which founds and maintains both a University and secondary schools as well, whether for efficiency or for economy, will fix their bounds. There will be no overlapping. A University will not teach for its own entrance examination, nor include courses alternative or equivalent to the schools. The liberal preparation of a student will not be in a single year, but through half a dozen. What University reformers failed to carry, a City and the State will do by way of business. It is the obvious thing.

APPENDIX V

A NATIONAL COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE IN THE TRANSVAAL[1]

Dear Macdonald,

I offer a rapid summary on the main heads where my experience and opinion may be of use.

South African Imperial College of Agriculture

Constitute near Pretoria a South African Imperial College of Agriculture for instruction and experiment and research. These objects equal and indissoluble! For teachers and taught. And on an adequate scale and endowment; to start with a million sterling. Instead of adopting the University instructional system of the English-speaking countries—whether modelled on the *quondam* University of London, an Examining Board; or on Oxford and Cambridge with their colleges of lectures and tutors peculiar to themselves, and a high liberal culture for the few; or on the Scottish type, weak in research whether pure or applied; or on the newer Universities in this country and the United States, still defective at that point—institute the Continental or Germanic type. The rapid industrial advance of Germany and its educational supremacy on every range are argument enough. For the Germanic professor of a natural science—with his staff of lecturers, each a specialist, with his own vast industry, depth and thoroughness, with a few lectures a week and his fortnightly colloquium where his students publicly discuss and criticise their current research; in a word, with his subject and his laboratory to the last bench organised like a card index—creates an atmosphere and method which breed as none other keen and competent researchers and teachers, students and a school.

There are, of course, supplementary elements of great value which can be found in the British and the American Universities.

1. [Letter addressed to Mr. William Macdonald, Sc.D., Editor of the *Transvaal Agricultural Journal*, and printed by him in a pamphlet entitled as above at Pretoria, 1909. The scheme is there outlined by Dr. Macdonald, and letters were also included from President Schurman, of Cornell, from other American authorities, and from the Right Hon. James Bryce. J. M. M.'s letter is no. 8.—Ed.]

Faculty of Agriculture, Veterinary Medicine, and Surgery

1. A Faculty of Agriculture, sub-tropical and tropical.
2. A Faculty of Veterinary Medicine and Surgery based on cytology, bacteriology, and parasitology.

In special departments of either faculty constitute special schools with boards mainly of laymen, extra-academic, to consult, advise and promote, e.g., schools of forestry, irrigation and dry soil farming.

Start with half a dozen chairs at least in each faculty at £800 a year each, with lecturers in addition, assistants and demonstrators, with libraries of current research, magazines and books, with laboratories and suitable equipment, with provision, too, for publications, with popular extension agencies, with provision for scientific expeditions, with experimental stations and farms. The range of the scientific activity of such a college should extend from Cape Colony to British East Africa.

The Professoriate

Select the staff with the greatest care, particularly the professoriate, from the countries where the Universities practise research as well as instruction as a matter of course, from Holland, Germany, Scandinavia, from France, or from such British or American Universities where individual professors follow, some with great personal distinction, the same end. In regard to the difficulty of language, most learned foreigners read English, and it would be worth while to give any scholars who are invited a year in which to practise instruction in the language.

Constitution

For efficiency secure, as you plead, autonomy. Adopt, therefore, as a constitution the historic University type, with faculties and a senate. Let each faculty consist of the professors in the subjects thereof and transact the business pertaining thereto. Let the senate consist of the professors of the faculties and have the control of the business reported from the faculties and their common interests. To this structure of faculties and senate might be added other members, whether engaged in instruction and research, or such officers of the University and the faculties, as the rector and deans and librarian.

Let there be an Executive Council which will deal especially with the administration of revenue and property of the College. To this Council should pass the minutes of faculty and senate, for the money must be allotted for educational objects and programme. The Council should consist of representatives of the academic body and of other persons representative of public and educational interests. Such an Executive Council was first instituted in the Scottish Universities through Sir William Hamilton, Professor of Philosophy at Edinburgh, who, if my memory serves me, found his precedent in the Dutch Universities. The recent English Universities have besides a large Court which meets twice a year, and to which on report the whole business of the University is brought. New statutes for example are passed in this Court.

Lastly, let the Crown be visitor with the power of sending commissioners every five or ten years to report to public bodies which support or are interested in the College.

Crown Charter

From the Crown, upon petition by the Government, or through the National University, the College would secure by charter or by incorporation the right of granting degrees as the great German polytechnics have secured. Diplomas and certificates would be given to such as came to study elementary scientific farming, rural economics, and education and culture, so fully and intimately sketched in your letter of 5th December, 1908. Courses of the Ontario College of Agriculture, and the Macdonald College, Canada, might be studied as a guide. The degrees of the College would be reserved for such adult students as were well qualified, not indeed as at present on a stock of second-hand material usually prepared for them by a professor, but in such research studies in the great problems of animal and plant diseases, as your letter points as the goal of the College, and which are actually established for instance in the Agricultural College at Cornell. For all diplomas and degrees, a knowledge of the methods and the practice of research should be the staple of the examination. Any examinational system with the diploma or the degree as an end in itself kills instruction and education alike. Learning, study, and research; the advancement and diffusion of knowledge are on this system neglected, ignored, and despised.

A great college should embrace what I may call the American and the Germanic experience and methods, as in its constitution it might derive from the new English Universities ; while its close connection with the State Department of Agriculture, as you advocate, would be for both a lasting gain.

For all public appointments such diplomas and degrees should be essential and qualify at least throughout the South African Union.

Free and Autonomous

And your plea that a college on such a scale should be free and autonomous, I would strongly urge. How it might be incorporated also with the National University and what relations should subsist between them for mutual advantage and support, these are secondary problems. But candidates for agricultural degrees, for example, might make their initial studies in certain fundamental pure sciences in the National University.

Acquire grounds and playing fields as ample as possible. Here some American Universities can give a lead. While Oxford and Cambridge and the great English public schools through their athletic sports have for physical and moral and social discipline and culture contributed a new asset of capital importance to the education of the modern world. They have revived a prime element of Greek civilisation. And a training also of a practical sort for Government, politics, and life. Lay out too and build beautifully as well as usefully, build lightly and laterally, cover space ; plan the whole, present, and future. For one of the Californian Universities the architect was selected from Paris after an open competition where the assessors were distinguished American and European names. I do not advocate going out of South Africa for an architect, but I do plead for beautiful grounds and buildings. There will be houses for the professors and the staff, and halls of residence for the students. Make residence easy and cheap on the Continental scale of fees for instruction, not on the British. Secure the co-operation of States and localities through a system of maintenance scholarships. Make every provision possible to enable the poor scholar of ability and worth to get every educational and social advantage.

A Government Scheme

To promote the scheme constitute a small and powerful committee. A secretary can procure the details. Let the Government announce the scheme publicly when the financial provision is secured. Aim at a million sterling and give the highest educational programme that can be devised. Men will give fifty thousand for a genuine University who would give a five pound note for a starved college. But let the Government in its infancy contribute generously, on the American and Continental scale, to the highest education, to begin with, for a definite utilitarian end, as here; and so institute in the Transvaal, all but the youngest State, a new movement in our Empire. It is the only way whereby the lower and popular ranges of education can ever anywhere be competent and living. Why is the public opinion of England so illiterate, and the science and wealth of our world-wide territory untapped, unregarded, and unknown?

For Imperial Africa

Open the Empire and its resources to the South African. Let the trek expand again inland, henceforth on scientific knowledge, over Rhodesia to Uganda, over British Africa. As the Dutch and the British have through the ages turned their native silt or gravel and clay into gardens of civilisation, let the two races co-operate in the face of immense natural obstacles to do the like for Imperial Africa. In such effort are races forged. And as the University of Leyden rose in commemoration of the relief of that city from the Spanish siege, and the monument at Quebec to Montcalm and Wolfe, let this new College—an adequate tribute—rise to the memory of Kruger and Rhodes upon the grant of Free Government by the British Parliament and the Imperial Crown.

Yours very truly,

J. M. MACKAY

The University, Liverpool, 16th June, 1909

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